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VOL. LXX, NO. 7, NOVEMBER 1955

-
- 473 On Dating a Middle English Moral Poem. R. H. ROBBINS
- 476 Tristram's First Interviews with Mark in Malory's *Morte Darthur*.
R. M. LUMIANSKY
- 478 The Tempestatis Praesagia in Chapman's *Eugenia*.
S. K. HENINGER, JR.
- 484 "Sublime" as Applied to Nature. FREDERICK STAVER
- 488 *Resolution and Independence* Stanza XVIII. F. G. MARSH
- 490 Correction to "Sweeney among the Epigraphs." F. L. GWYNN
- 491 The Hanging Scene in Melville's *Billy Budd*. G. GIOVANNINI
- 497 The Hanging Scene in Melville's *Billy Budd*: a Reply to Mr.
Giovannini. H. M. CAMPBELL
- 501 Latin médiéval *brocard* (ic) a > français *brocard*. LEO SPITZER
- 506 Alain Chartier and Joachism? MARGARET S. BLAYNEY
- 510 A quelle époque se rapporte la *Pantagruéline Prognostication*?
M. FRANÇON
- 512 Proportion in *Micromégas*. CLIFTON CHERPACK
- 514 Zola on Naturalism in Art and History. E. P. GAUTHIER
- 518 A Little-Noticed *Parecer* by Francisco de Quevedo. J. O. CROSBY

REVIEWS

- 521 ADRIEN BONJOUR, *The Digression in Beowulf* (CAROLINE BRADY)
 524 MADELEINE DORAN, *Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama* (E. T. SEHRT)
 527 C. T. PROUTY, *The Contention and Shakespeare's 2 Henry VI* (H. T. PRICE)
 529 PATRICK CRUTTWELL, *The Shakespearean Moment and its Place in the Poetry of the 17th Century* (ALFRED HARBAGE)
 530 PIERRE LEGOUIS, tr., *John Donne, Poèmes Choisis* (D. C. ALLEN)
 531 J. M. FRENCH, *The Life Records of John Milton, III* (W. B. HUNTER, JR.)
 533 JOAN EVANS, *John Ruskin* (E. D. H. JOHNSON)
 535 JEAN SIMON, tr., *Emily Dickinson, Poèmes* (CHARLES ANDERSON)
 535 PERCY MATENKO, *Ludwig Tieck and America* (CHRISTOF WEGELIN)
 537 E. S. FUSSELL, *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (RICHARD CROWDER)
 539 R. E. HAYMAKER, *From Pampas to Hedgerows and Downs: A Study of W. H. Hudson* (H. N. FAIRCHILD)
 541 DONALD DAVIE, *Purity of Diction in English Verse* (THOMAS PYLES)
 543 ALVAR ELLEGÅRD, *The Auxiliary Do* (H. B. WOOLF)
 544 WALTER BAETKE, ed., *Hrafnkels saga freysgoða* (STEFÁN EINARSSON)
 545 JOHN WINKELMAN, *Social Criticism in the Early Works of Erich Kästner* (A. O. JARRE)
 547 J. M. M. ALER, *Inleiding tot de vroege Duitse letterkunde* (JUDY MENDELS)
 548 ERNST ZELLMER, *Altfranzösisch "ço"—Neufranzösisch "ça"* (M. SANDMANN)

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modern language notes

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On Dating a Middle English Moral Poem

One of the larger groups of related Middle English poems describes the Abuses of the Age or the Evils of the Times. Most of these fifty or so pieces derive from a list in a Latin tract, ascribed variously to Cyprian, Augustine, or Origen,¹ which came into Middle English verse at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century in the *Speculum Christiani* (No. 2167²) and in another (shorter) version (No. 906) in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Similar lists of what was wrong with the country—*senex sine religione, femina sine pudicitia, rex iniquus, etc.*—rapidly achieved an independent existence, and circulated throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As a consequence of their common source, the content of all these congeners, no matter how presented, is very much alike. On the topic of might making right and of rich men plundering, for example, there is little difference between a late thirteenth-century "The grete holde no law" (No. 906), the early fourteenth-century "ffor miht is right þe lond is laweles" and "ffor þef is reue þe lond is penyles" (No. 1857), the later fourteenth-century "robbyng & rewyng is holden purchas" (No. 3133) and "Richeman robbere" (No. 4180), and the

¹ See Carleton Brown, *Archiv*, CXXVIII (1912), 72-6; and Migne, *PL*, XL, col. 1079.

² Numbers in parentheses refer to entries in Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse*, Index Society, II (New York, 1943).

mid fifteenth-century "iij poyntis of mysecheff" (No. 3522), "A Rych man thef is a-nodyr / þat of covetyse wyll not slake." Another theme, love turned to lust, likewise spreads over two or three centuries with little change: "Womman ssamles" of the thirteenth century is repeated in a fifteenth-century carol, "Now lechery ys schameles" (No. 2356); an early "loue is lecherye" (No. 906) becomes later "lecherie [is] kyndely þing" (No. 3851). Uniformity of treatment appears in other abuses, such as feigned friends or crooked lawyers: "frend is fo" (No. 1857) turns up a century and a half later as "ffrendis ben vntrywe" (No. 906, Westminster MS.); "gifte is domesman" appears in the year 1372 as "and tort & fort as sworn þat owth / þat law sal lose is ouercloþe," and by the mid fifteenth century, "with men of lawe [truth] haȝt non spas" (No. 72) and "rectum iudicium commys so farre be-hynde" (No. 1871).

In nearly all these poems, the sentiments are so hackneyed and conventionalized that assigning any close date of composition is difficult.

There are few exceptions. One is a moral series in Digby MS. 102, which has been linked to the reign of Henry IV. For example, in a seemingly apolitical piece (No. 3608), three stanzas condemn those who clip money, use false weights and measures, "storble" the rights of the poor, and take bribes and pervert the law. These are not unusual charges, but the fact that they were all publicly discussed in Parliament just before Easter, 1410 ("This holy tyme" of the first line), enables Kail, the editor of the series, to establish the year of the poem's composition.³ The other items are likewise dated by a similar use of the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*.

Another exception, not previously remarked, to which an exact year can be given, is "þe bysom ledys þe blynde" (No. 884⁴) a typical catalogue of corrupt practices: "gloserys full gayly þey go;" "mayntenerys be made lustys;" "þe dred of god ys al todrawe;" "the constery ys combyrd with couetyse;" "þer werld is turnyd up so doun among;" "wymmonis wyttes ar full of wynd;" and so forth. On the last page of this part of the MS., in the same hand as the poem, is a reckoning between Thomas Rychard and Wyllyam Hendyman the "Monday aftyr seynt barthylmeweys day the xxxiiij ȝere of

³ *Twenty-Six Political and other Poems*, ed. J. Kail, *EETS*, o. s. 124 (London, 1904), pp. xiv-xvi.

⁴ Printed by Thomas Wright and J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae* (London, 1843), II, 238-40; and by Thomas Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, Rolls Series (London, 1861), II, 235-7.

Kyng Harry the vj," that is, the Monday following August 24, 1456. This entry is fortunate, for such reckonings are ordinarily added to a MS. after its composition.⁵

More notable, however, is the internal evidence which gives the same date. Among the listings of evils are the lines (vv. 41-2):

He ys louyd þat wele can lye;
And theuys tru men honge.

This couplet is not the conventional "þey louyn trewþe in non plas" (No. 72), but quite pointed. Under 1456 in *Gregory's Chronicle*, the political diary of a London alderman, is the shocking story of a thief turned state informer.⁶ Thomas Whytehorn, about to be hanged for stealing, secured pardon by falsely accusing of treason men with whom he had at some time been acquainted. On his word alone, those "appealed" were put in prison and hanged (save a few who could buy their freedom). For this service, he not only avoided his own punishment, but received a bounty from the king (who himself profited by confiscating the property of the "traitors"). Finally, one courageous victim completely denied the allegations, and in vindication was allowed to engage in a degrading mock "duel of reproof."⁷ By chance, he prevailed, and the thief confessed "that he hadde accusyd hym wrongefully and xvij men."

The contemporary chronicles record few events for 1456, except a riot in London against the Italian merchants;⁸ it is evident that this story of professional perjury made a deep impression on Gregory, for he describes it in detail. I think there can be no doubt that the lines in the poem refer to this incident. Thus, even if the reckoning at the end of the MS. did not confirm the year 1456, this allusion alone could establish the date of the poem.

Only rarely does the interpretation of a line or two of a routine

⁵ See Robbins, *PMLA*, LXIX (1954), 620-1.

⁶ *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, III, William Gregory's *Chronicle of London*, ed. James Gairdner, Camden Society, n. s. XVII (London, 1876), pp. 199-202.

⁷ Harley MS. 5396 also contains the "Tournament of Tottenham" (No. 2615), also found in a slightly later MS., a burlesque on the courtly tournaments of the nobility. The contestants for the hand of Tyb, the daughter of Randol the Reeve, fight a mock battle; they "sowed them in schepeskynnes, for that schuld not brest," "with a flayl for to fyzt," and "layd on styfly, for nothyng wold thay let." These are the same features described in the "duel of reproof." It is just possible that the horrible travesty of the courtly duel sparked off this lighter parody.

⁸ "The Five Dogs of London" describes the political aftermath of this riot. See Robbins, *PMLA* (forthcoming, December 1955).

poem provide such exact chronological identification; yet the need for considering all Middle English poems against their historical background persists. This approach will avoid the common error of lumping together thirteenth- and fifteenth-century materials and of ignoring the growth and development of medieval literature over a changing two hundred years.

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Tristram's First Interviews with Mark in Malory's *Morte Darthur*

Near the beginning of Tale V, The Tale of Tristram, in Malory's *Morte Darthur* occurs the section in which Tristram first travels from his father Melyodas' land to Mark's castle of Tyntagyll in Cornwall. Tristram, at this time about eighteen years old and as yet not knighted, comes with the specific purpose of volunteering to fight Marhalt, in the hope of freeing Mark from having to pay Cornwall's tribute to King Angwysh of Ireland.¹ In Malory's presentation of Tristram's first interviews with Mark, we find the following passage:

So aftir this yonge Trystrames rode unto hys eme, kynge Marke of Cornwayle, and whan he com there he herde sey that there wolde no knyght fyght with sir Marhalt.

'Sir,' seyde Trystrams, 'yf ye woll gyff me the Ordir of Knyghthode I woll do batayle with sir Marhalte.'

'What are ye?' seyde the kynge, 'and frome whens be ye com?'

'Sir,' seyde Trystrames, 'I com from kynge Melyodas that wedded your systir, and a jantylman, wete you welle, I am.'

So kyng Marke behylde Trystrams and saw that he was but a yonge man of ayge, but he was passyngly wel made and bygge.

'Fayre sir,' seyde the kynge, 'what is your name and where were ye borne?'

'Sir, my name is Trystrams, and in the contrey of Lyonesse was I borne.'

'Ye sey well,' seyde the kynge, 'and yf ye woll do this batayle I shall make you knyght.'

'Therefore cam I to you,' seyde Trystrams, 'and for none other cause.'

But than kynge Marke made hym knyght, and therewithall anone as he

¹ Eugène Vinaver, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory* (Clarendon Press 1947), pp. 376-378. All page references are to this edition.

had made hym knyght he sente unto sir Marhalte that he had founde a yonge knyght redy for to take the batayle to the utteraunce.

'Hit may well be so,' seyde sir Marhalte, 'but tell kynge Marke I woll not fyght with no knyght but he be of blood royall, that is to seye owther kynges son othir quenys son, borne of pryncis other of pryncesses.'

Whan kynge Marke undirstoode that, he sente for sir Trystrams de Lyones and tolde hym what was the answare of sir Marhalte. Than seyde sir Trystrams,

'Sytthen that he seyth so, lat hym wete that I am commyn of fadir ayde and modir syde of as noble bloode as he is; for, sir, now shall ye know that I am kynge of Melyodas sonne, borne of your owne sister dame Elyzabeth that dyed in the foreste in the byrth of me.'

'A, Jesu!' seyde kynge Marke, 'ye ar welcom, fayre newew, to me' (378-379).²

For this passage Professor Vinaver presents the following note in the Commentary to his three-volume edition:³

378. 28-30; 379. 24-6. In *F*. Tristram conceals his identity during his first interview with Mark: 'ung varlet estrange suy, qui vous servira, s'il vous plaist' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 33r, col. 2), and does not disclose it until just before the fight with Marhalt (ibid., f. 34r, col. 1). *M* makes Tristram reveal his name the moment he arrives at the court: '*Sir, seyde Trystrames, "I com frome kynge Melyodas that wedded your systir."*' On the next page *M* forgets this and makes Tristram repeat that he is the son of Melyodas and of Mark's sister Elizabeth. If Mark's surprise is greater on the second occasion than on the first, the reason is that the second scene corresponds to the first recognition scene in *F*. (1446-7).

As I see it, Professor Vinaver has misread this passage. Malory does not have Tristram "reveal his name the moment he arrives at the court." At this point Mark does not learn his name, for Tristram says only that he *comes from* king Melyodas; nor does he state that he is Melyodas's son. Later in this first interview Tristram answers, "Sir, my name is Trystrams, and in the contrey of Lyonesse was I borne"; but we find absolutely no indication that Mark therefore realizes that the young man is his nephew. In fact, had Mark so realized, he would not have had to call Tristram in for the second interview, to tell him that Marhalt will fight only against a knight of royal blood, but could have immediately sent the necessary reply himself to Marhalt.

Accordingly, when in the second interview Tristram says to Mark,

²This passage is found on pp. 282-283 in Vinaver's 1954 one-volume edition.

³In this quotation *M* stands for Malory, and *F* for the French manuscript which Vinaver considers Malory's source.

"now shall ye know that I am kynge of Melyodas sonne, borne of your owne sister dame Elyzabeth that dyed in the foreste in the byrth of me," Malory is not guilty of any unnecessary repetition. Thus we need not consider that the French version is here forcing Malory into confusion, for no confusion exists.

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The Tempestatis Praesagia in Chapman's *Eugenia*

In 1614 George Chapman published *Eugenia: or True Nobilities Trance*, a lament for William Lord Russell and an attempt to gain the financial favor of Lord Russell's heir. The fashion for overwrought elegies had been set during the previous year by the spate of memorials for Prince Henry, to which Chapman himself had contributed an *Epicede*. To make *Eugenia* stand out against this severe competition Chapman realized that he must be excessively learned and at the same time excessively clever. So he devised an elaborate plan whereby *Eugenia* retreats to a Chaucer-like house of Fame; and in company with Fame, Religion, the Muses and the Graces, she mourns the death of Lord Russell in a series of "vigils."

In an induction to the vigils Chapman sets up his narrative framework, etymologizes the family-name Russell (ll. 33-40),¹ provides a cryptic vignette of Religion (ll. 163-191), praises Lord Russell's son (ll. 198-203), and in passing makes several malcontented comments about the depravity of the times. By far the largest part of the induction, however, is concerned with a catalogue of "*Tempestatis Praesagia*" (ll. 55-132), which lead into the elegiac convention of having nature itself express bereavement over the loved-one's death. Such pathetic fallacy was a requisite movement in every funeral elegy since the first Greek pastoralists, but no previous threnodist had introduced this movement by means of an extended list of *tempestatis praesagia*. In this way Chapman meets the double requirement of cleverness and learning: the innovation brings a new note of extravagance into his elegy, and also allows him to parade his erudition.

¹ Russell < 'ρυσάλιος = *rugosus* = "wrinkl'd with time, and aged industrie" (l. 40). All line references are made to *The Poems of George Chapman*, ed. Phyllis Brooks Bartlett (New York, 1941).

The catalogue of weather-signs had enjoyed an even longer history than had the formal lament. Theophrastus had compiled a treatise entitled ΠΕΡΙ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΝ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΧΕΙΜΩΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΔΙΩΝ. This was quickly followed by the ΔΙΟΣΗΜΕΙΑ of Aratus of Soli, a didactic poem on weather-forecasting that supplemented Aratus' ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΑ. The ΔΙΟΣΗΜΕΙΑ was derived from Theophrastus' list of weather-signs, or perhaps from an earlier common source.² Vergil, writing largely under the influence of Aratus and his Latin redactions,³ included at the end of Book I of the *Georgics* considerable information about weather-forecasting with special regard to farming. Probably the best known of the classical authorities on weather-signs, however, was the ever-popular Pliny, who in Book XVIII of the *Historia naturalis* gave a concise summary of the major storm-portents. These classical lists of weather-signs survived independently of the astrological forecasting which developed during the Middle Ages, and in Chapman's day they appeared in such diverse places as perennial almanacks⁴ and handbooks of husbandry.⁵ Their popularity made them household commonplaces. Chapman eschewed such banal statements, however, rightly deciding that they ill-befitted his encomium of Lord Russell. Instead, he pedantically returned to literary sources, and exercising his customary eclecticism he adapted for his poem various passages from all four of the classical authorities: Theophrastus, Aratus, Vergil, and Pliny. In many instances he closely echoed the wordings of his models.

Chapman prepares for his catalogue of *tempestatis praesagia* by having "the sun looke pale, and cast through aire, / Discoullor'd beames" (ll. 55-56). Pliny advises: "[diem] hibernum [oriens] pallidus [nuntiat] . . . ventos cum ante exorientem eum nubes rubescunt [oriens praedicat]; quod si et nigrae rubentibus intervenerint, et pluvias" (XVIII. lxxviii [342]).⁶ Chapman's sun is too weak to

²The complex problem of the relation between the ΠΕΡΙ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΝ and the ΔΙΟΣΗΜΕΙΑ, as well as the relation between these and lost works on weather-forecasting by Aristotle and Theophrastus, is discussed by W. E. Gillespie, *Vergil, Aratus and Others* (Princeton, 1938), pp. 9-31.

³Aratus' work was the subject of numerous Latin commentaries, and was paraphrased in Latin by no less eminent persons than Cicero, Germanicus Caesar, and Rufus Festus Avienus.

⁴Such as Leonard Digges, *A prognostication of right good effect* (London, 1555), and numerous other editions; and *Perpetuall and naturall prognostications of the change of weather*, trans. [from Italian] I. F[armery?] (London, 1591), another edition in 1598.

⁵Such as Thomas Hill, *The profitable Arte of Gardening* (London, 1568), and numerous other editions.

⁶Cf. Vergil, *Georgics*, I. 446-456.

form a complete rainbow, so an imperfect bow results. This "water-gal" (gloss) is a certain portent of rain, as Shakespeare knew when he described the incessant weeping of Lucrece:

And round about her tear-distained eye
Blue circles stream'd, like rainbows in the sky:
These water-galls in her dim element
Foretell new storms to those already spent.
(*Lucrece*, 1586-1589)

Chapman depicts this half-formed rainbow as "a buls necke shortned" (l. 59) in keeping with the poetical tradition, recorded by Plutarch, that the rainbow "having a bulles head, drinketh up the rivers."⁷

With line 64 Chapman actually begins the enumeration of signs by which "Beasts, Foules & Fish" (gloss) predict the storms that will accompany Lord Russell's death:

The Bittours plaid
And met in flocks; the Herons set clamours gone,
That rattled vp aires triple Region.*
The Cormorants to drie land did addresse,
And cried away, all foules that vs'd the seas.
(ll. 64-68)

The sea-birds' search for shelter is discussed by each of our four authorities, but Chapman's lines are especially reminiscent of Vergil:

Cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi
clamoremque ferunt ad litora, cumque marinae
in sicco ludunt fulicae, notasque paludes
deserit atque altum supra volat ardea nubem.*
(*Georgics*, I. 361-364)

Lines 69-75 closely resemble Aratus, both as to subject-matter and as to order in which the storm-tokens are arranged:

⁷ *Opinions of Philosophers*, in *The philosophie, commonlie called, the moralls*, trans. P. Holland (London, 1603), p. 828 [III. v].

* This is "the triple world" which Chapman intends in line 9, not "earth, sea, and hell" as Miss Bartlett's note suggests. According to Renaissance cosmology the region of Air was divided into three strata (hence "triple world") which were placed between the earth's surface ("Earth, the Seas" [l. 8]) and the planetary spheres ("all those tracts diuine" [l. 8]). See Saluste du Bartas, *Deuine weekes & Workes*, trans. J. Sylvester (London, 1605), pp. 45-46.

* Cf. Theophrastus, *De signis*, 28, 40; Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 913-919; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, XVIII. lxxxvii (362).

ἡ λίμνην πέρι θεθὰ χελιδόνες ἀΐσσονται
 γαστέρι τύπτουσαι αὐτῶς εἰλυμένον ὕδωρ,¹⁰
 ἡ μᾶλλον δειλαὶ γενεαί, ὕδροισιν ὄνειαρ,
 αὐτόθεν ἐξ ὕδατος πατέρες βοόωσι γυρίνων,
 ἡ τρύζει ὀρθρινόν ἐρημαίη ὀλολυγών,¹¹
 ἡ πον καὶ λακέρυζα παρ' ἡϊόνι προύχούσῃ
 χείματος ἐρχομένου χέρσῳ ὑπέτυψε κορώνῃ,
 ἡ πον καὶ ποταμοῖο ἐβάψατο μέχρι παρ' ἄκρου
 ὤμους ἐκ κεφαλῆς, ἡ καὶ μάλα πᾶσα κολυμβᾷ,
 ἡ πολλὴ στρέφεται παρ' ὕδωρ παχέα κρώζουσα.¹²
 (Phaenomena, 944-953)

The "trumpet throated" cranes which occupy the next three lines also belong with the water-birds described just previously. How cranes came to be called *Naupliades* (l. 76) is an interesting footnote, especially since Chapman's gloss is misleading. The connection between cranes and King Nauplius is succinctly made in Textor's *Officina* under the heading "Grues":

Dicuntur aliter Naupliadæ uolucres, & Palamedis aues:
 quoniam Palamedes Nauplii filius ex earum ordine tres
 litteras reperisse fertur.¹³

Textor is referring to the venerated legend that Palamedes, the son of Nauplius, invented three or four letters of the Greek alphabet, deriving them from the formation of cranes in flight. The story seems to have originated in the totally lost *Cypria* of the Epic Cycle; but it survives in its most complete form in Philostratus' *Heroica* (X. iii). This is an extremely esoteric bit of knowledge, not available in most Renaissance mythographies and classical dictionaries. But the *Heroica*, which deals with the heroes of the Trojan War, is the sort of thing Chapman would be reading in connection with his translation of Homer. Chapman very humanly (if not characteristically) explains what he only half remembers about Nauplius and unwarrantedly metamorphizes him into a crane.

Chapman continues the catalogue of portents with "the erring Dolphin" (ll. 79-80), which comes most likely from Pliny: "delphini tranquillo mari lascivientes flatum" (XVIII. lxxxvii [361]).¹⁴ The

¹⁰ Cf. Theophrastus, 15; Vergil, I. 377; Pliny, XVIII. lxxxvii (363).

¹¹ Cf. Theophrastus, 15; Vergil, I. 378; Pliny, XVIII. lxxxvii (361-362).

¹² Cf. Vergil, I. 385-389.

¹³ (Venice, 1566-1567), Bk. II, fol. 108.

¹⁴ Cf. Theophrastus, 19.

raven "belching out his funerall din" (ll. 81-82)¹⁵ and the ant transporting her eggs (ll. 83-84)¹⁶ occur in all four authorities. The molehills which are pervious to rain (ll. 84-85), however, appear only in Theophrastus (§ 30). The "hundred-footed Canker-Wormes" which "creepe / Thicke on the wet wals" (ll. 86-87) are common to both Theophrastus and Aratus: ἱουλοι πολλοὶ πρὸς τοίχον ἔρποντες ἰδατικόν (*De signis*, 19); ἀθρόοι ὤφθεν ἱουλοι / τείχῃ ἀέρποντες (*Phaenomena*, 957-958). The next weather-sign concerns the crab:

The slow Crab did take
Pibbles into her mouth, and ballas make
Of grauell, for her stay, against the Gales,
Close clinging to the shore.

(ll. 87-90)

Only Pliny reports this oddity: "tradunt saevitiam maris praesagire eos [echinos] correptisque opperiri lapillis mobilitatem pondere stabilientes" (IX. li [100]). The appearance of "Sea-Giant whales" (ll. 90-91) also seems to reflect Pliny's observation: "deiectae montium iugis procellae ab imo vertunt maria pulsatasque ex profundo beluas cum fluctibus volvunt" (IX. ii [5]).

Each of the next four weather-signs—involving the fly, the dog, the ass, and the bee—derives either from Theophrastus or Aratus, the two classical authorities that are most alike. The "petulant Flie" that bites viciously for blood (ll. 92-93) appears in both Theophrastus and Aratus; but Chapman's wording most closely follows the latter: κεν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ παροίθεν / δάκνωσιν μυῖαι καὶ ἐφ' αἵματος ἱμείρωνται (*Phaenomena*, 974-975).¹⁷ The "louing Dog" that "dig'd earth vp with his feete" (l. 94) also appears in both Theophrastus and Aratus: κυων τοῖς ποσὶν ὀρύττουσα (*De signis*, 42); κύων ὀρύξατο ποσσὶν / ἀμφότεροις (*Phaenomena*, 1135-1136). The ass that "neuer left shaking his flaggie eares" (ll. 95-96), however, is unique to Theophrastus: κρούων ὄνος (§ 41). The "ingenious Bee" that stays "euer neere her hiue" (l. 97) may come either from Theophrastus (§ 46) or Aratus (ll. 1028-1030).

The storm-tokens dependent upon coals and ashes in the fireplace (ll. 98-99) may have been suggested by several passages in the au-

¹⁵ Cf. Theophrastus, 16; Aratus, 953; Vergil, I. 388; Pliny, XVIII. lxxxvii (362-363).

¹⁶ Cf. Theophrastus, 22; Aratus, 956-957; Vergil, I. 379-380; Pliny, XVIII. lxxxviii (364).

¹⁷ Cf. Theophrastus, 23.

thorities, but Chapman's lines are most similar to Pliny (XVIII. lxxxiv [357-358]).¹⁸ The succeeding three lines echo Pliny quite plainly:

The Riuers crownd with Swimming feathers were.
The Trees greene fleeces flew about the aire
And Aged thistles lost their downie haire.
(ll. 100-102)

... lanugo populi aut spinae volitans aquisque plumae innatantes (*Historia naturalis*, XVIII. lxxxvi [360]).¹⁹

The *pluma nastans* of Chapman's gloss seems to have been taken directly from Pliny.

The weather-signs concerning cattle—the leaping lambs and butting rams—have no possible source except Aratus:

Cattaile would run from out their sheds vndriuen,
To th'ample pastures: Lambes were sprightly giuen,
And all in iumpes about the short leas borne:
Rammes fiercely butted, locking horne in horne.
(ll. 103-106)

Ἀρνάσι μὲν χειμῶνας ἔτεκμήραντο νομῆες,
ἐς νομὸν ὀπότε μᾶλλον ἐπειγόμενοι τροχόωσιν,
ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ ἀγέλης κριοί, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ἄμνοι
εἰνόδιοι παίζωσιν ἐρειδόμενοι κεράεσσιν·
ἢ ὀπότε ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι ἀναπλήσσωσι πόδεσσιν
τέτρασιν οἱ κούφοι, κεραοὶ γὰρ μὲν ἀμφοτέροισιν.
(*Phaenomena*, 1104-1109)

The oxen that sniffs the wind and licks his hair (ll. 109-116) may be found in all the authorities, and Pliny is representative: "boves caelum olfactantes seque lambentes contra pilum" (XVIII. lxxxviii [364]).²⁰ The original reading of "rightside laire" is correct, however, and Miss Bartlett need not emend it to "night tide laire" (l. 114), because both Theophrastus and Aratus state that cattle lying on their right sides portend tempests: βόες . . . ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κατακλινόμενοι χιμέριον (*De signis*, 41).²¹

The untidy pig that "with her Snowt strow'd euery way her stie" (ll. 117-118) may have come from any of the authorities, but again we can take Pliny as representative: "turpesque porci alienos sibi manipulos feni lacerantes" (XVIII. lxxxviii [364]).²² The lines

¹⁸ Cf. Theophrastus, 19, 25, 42; Aratus, 983-987, 1037-1043.

¹⁹ Cf. Theophrastus, 37; Aratus, 921-923; Vergil, I. 368-369.

²⁰ Cf. Theophrastus, 15; Aratus, 954-955, 1113-1115; Vergil, I. 375-376.

²¹ Cf. Aratus, 1116.

²² Cf. Theophrastus, 49; Aratus, 1123; Vergil, I. 399-400.

describing the howling wolf and its hungry approach to human-dwelling repeat Aratus:

The wolfe hould in her den; Th'insatiate beast,
Now fearing no man, met him brest to brest,
And like a murtherous begger, him allur'd;
Haunting the home-groues husbandmen manur'd.

(ll. 119-122)

Καὶ λύκος ὁππότε μακρὰ μονόλυκος ὠρύηται,
ἢ ὄγ' ἀροτρήων ὀλίγον πεφυλαγμένος ἀνδρῶν
ἔργα κατέρχεται, σκέπαος χατέοντι ἐοικώς,
ἐγγύθεν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα οἱ λέχος ἀντόθεν εἴη . . .

(*Phaenomena*, 1124-1127)²³

With line 123 Chapman finishes the catalogue by announcing: "Then night her circle cload." The image is the popular Renaissance picture of Night riding through the heavens in the wake of Apollo's circle, bringing on darkness by covering the sky with her black mantle. In the darkness "Falling Starres" (gloss) are seen, yet another sign of tempest,²⁴ and glow-worms strew the earth²⁵ (ll. 124-127). At this point the storm breaks in all its fury (ll. 128-132).

It is difficult to argue for the artistic effectiveness of Chapman's *tempestatis praesagia*. Modern taste certainly tends in other directions. Perhaps it is sufficient to understand why he used them and where he got them.

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"Sublime" as Applied to Nature

When did an English writer first apply the adjective "sublime," commonly used by literary critics, to the objects and forces of nature? I ask this question in view of recent studies which show the development of the "natural sublime"—a *sublime* apparently originating in

²³ Cf. Theophrastus, 46.

²⁴ Cf. Theophrastus, 13; Aratus, 926-929; Vergil, I. 365-367; Pliny, XVIII. lxxx (352).

²⁵ Theophrastus, Aratus, and Pliny advise that the appearance of earth-worms is a sign of bad weather: cf. *De signis*, 42; *Phaenomena*, 958-959; *Historia naturalis*, XVIII. lxxxviii (364).

England.¹ This aesthetic category was heavily indebted to the new ideas advanced by seventeenth-century geologists and cosmological thinkers. In the forepart of the next century, Joseph Addison recognized grand aspects of nature in his *Spectator* essays on the imagination. Though plainly he refers to what later were known as sublime scenes, Addison does not call them "sublime" but writes instead of the "Great" in nature and natural "Greatness." Thirty years before his essays were published, John Dennis recorded his Alpine experiences in a now famous letter without once resorting to the word "sublime." In place of it we have "transporting Pleasures," by which he means those primary pleasures Addison afterwards defines according to Locke's system of ideas.

It would be useful to determine approximately the time when this epithet was transferred from its rhetorical context to serve also the expressive turn of writers who early appreciated the sensational appearances of nature. A search among critical documents, travel accounts, and correspondence antedating 1740 suggests that "sublime" in this connection was, if at all, sparingly used. Of course it is used in the Longinian sense of exaltation induced by memorable passages of literature. This fact may explain why "grand," "magnificent," "wonderful," and "vast" rather than "sublime" are frequently employed to describe whole vistas and objects of nature that were beginning to be enjoyed. The eighteenth century, with its sense of decorum, must have felt an impropriety in applying a term reserved for praise of high art to a new source of emotional experience.

Nevertheless the transference occurred. "Sublime" gained currency as an epithet applicable to the great natural objects and forces that science had made prominent. This growing usage is to be distinguished from the one "signifying physical or metaphorical height."² Sir Richard Blackmore's *The Nature of Man: A Poem* (1711) provides examples of the latter meaning. He describes birds in flight as

The feather'd Clans, that soar amidst the Clouds
Sublime, or perching sing in shady Woods . . . [p. 2].

Like Blackmore, Thomson also employs "sublime" as a synonym for

¹ Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *The Breaking of the Circle* (Evanston, 1950); Ernest Tuveson, "Space, Deity, and the 'Natural Sublime,'" *MLQ*, xii (1951), 20-38.

² Samuel Monk, *The Sublime* (New York, 1935), p. 20.

"high." A striking example occurs in "Autumn" (1730), where he describes a mountain being obscured by night and fog.

No more the mountain, horrid, vast, sublime,
Who pours a sweep of rivers from his sides,
And high between contending kingdoms rears
The rocky long division, fills the view
With great variety. . . .³

Thomson's adjectives, "horrid, vast, sublime" (i. e., shaggy, immense, and of great height), are denotatively used; it is possible to visualize a mountain such as he describes here. The feeling evoked results from the cumulative force of these adjectives in combination. Not yet has the word "sublime" come to signify nature's superlative grandeur.

Most of the critics writing in this period consciously associate sublimity with literature rather than with imposing scenery. Hildebrand Jacob's essay, "How the MIND is rais'd to the Sublime,"⁴ belies its title in not providing an analysis of this aesthetic event. Yet, as the title shows, he is interested primarily in the emotional experience itself as it associates with great art and "All the *vast*, and *Wonderful Scenes*, either of *Delight*, or *Horror*, which the *Universe* affords." What he lacks is a method for elucidating such experience in psychological terms. We learn from him what has power to move the imagination, not how it is moved. Jacob presents a compendious list of all the objects and sources of the sublime considered as an emotion that occur to his mind. Since he mentions the works of nature and art and groups them separately, placing those of nature first, we may regard his catalogue as two lists comprising distinct categories. The first list includes risings and settings of the sun, all celestial phenomena studied by astronomers, the ocean, precipices, caverns, cataracts, tempests, and thunder. Jacob's other writings reveal a rather commonplace mind, and therefore we may suppose these natural objects and phenomena were familiarly recognized as sublime ones when he wrote. Of course he is merely cataloguing sublimities, not reacting to them.

The earliest application of the adjective to scenery that I have found outside formal literature occurs in a letter Elizabeth Montagu wrote

³ "The Seasons," *The Complete Poetical Works . . .*, ed. J. Logie Robertson (Oxford, 1908), lines 711-715. Although I have quoted this passage from the final version of "Autumn," line 711 stands as it was originally composed.

⁴ *The Works of Hildebrand Jacob* (London, 1735), pp. 421 ff.

in 1742. Thirty years after Addison had celebrated the "Greatness" of nature, she writes with evident enjoyment:

I had been three days upon an expedition to a wild part of the country called the Dales, where Nature's works are not delicate, pretty and mignonne, but grand, sublime and magnificent. Vast mountains, rocks and cascades, and rapid rivers make the country beautiful and surprising.⁶

In this passage Mrs. Montagu is not describing a stately mountain as Thomson had done in "Autumn"; she simply records her impression of mountainous scenery. Her emotion is generalized, and her series of epithets conveys not an image of nature but her feeling for the vastness of nature itself. She is concerned to give the strongest possible contrast to the more gentle *landskips* patronized by August taste; this effect she achieves by compounding her adjectives all of which share the same meaning. Apparently a strong impression of the Dales seemed to her more forceful and immediate than a calculated description of it. Certainly it was much easier to write.

The subjective quality of the experience Mrs. Montagu objectifies when ascribing sublimity to scenery, is acknowledged in the following lines:

Mind, mind alone (bear witness, Earth and Heaven!)
The living fountains in itself contains
Of beauteous and sublime. . . .⁷

Two years after her letter, Addison's three categories of the "Great, Uncommon, or Beautiful" had become in Akenside's poem "the sublime, The wonderful, the fair."⁸

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⁶ Elizabeth Montagu *The Queen of the Blue-Stockings: Her Correspondence from 1720 to 1761*, ed. Emily J. Climensson (New York, 1906), Vol. I, p. 125.

⁷ Mark Akenside, "The Pleasures of Imagination," Book II, lines 481-3. *The Works of the English Poets*, ed. Alexander Chalmers (London, 1810), Vol. XIV.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Book I, lines 145-6.

Resolution and Independence Stanza XVIII

The brilliance of Coleridge's criticism of Wordsworth's poetry in the famous Chapter XXII of *Biographia Literaria* has resulted in a few injustices to Wordsworth. Coleridge's objection to stanza VIII of the *Intimations Ode* has been amply answered, but his equally serious objection to the central portion of *Resolution and Independence* remains unanswered. I wish to consider it here.

Coleridge's first objection to Wordsworth's poetry is, as every student knows, its inconstancy of style. Under this name Coleridge refers "to the sudden and unprepared transitions from lines or sentences of peculiar felicity—at all events striking and original—to a style, not only unimpassioned but undistinguished." Wordsworth sinks "too often and too abruptly" in Coleridge's opinion into the style "which is only proper in prose." As instances of this disharmony in style Coleridge quotes from *The Blind Highland Boy*, from *The Emigrant Mother*, from *To a Sky-lark*, and twice from *Resolution and Independence*. In every case except that of the second quotation from *Resolution and Independence* Wordsworth revised his lines. He altered *The Highland Boy* (in fact worsened it); he deleted and improved the objectionable lines from *The Emigrant Mother*; he altered *To a Sky-lark*; he omitted the whole stanza from *Resolution and Independence* which included the first lines to which Coleridge objected. Only stanza XVIII of *Resolution and Independence* remained unchanged. Why, one must ask, when Wordsworth emended so assiduously and profited so much from Coleridge's criticism, did he choose to ignore this particular criticism? Why did stanza XVIII remain unaltered?

The answer is that the lines are right as they are. What Coleridge failed to observe and what has not yet been sufficiently observed is the sensitivity and skill with which Wordsworth deals with the two worlds—the outer world of moor and humble old man and the inner world of the poet's mind with its "Fallings from us, vanishings." The poem is a study in mood progression, in changes within the mind. The language of the poem varies as the poem moves in and out of the mind.

Strangeness is indicated whenever the poet's introversion occurs. Fallen into melancholy, struggling with depression, the poet encounters the old leech-gatherer "By peculiar grace / . . . a something given." Observing the old man, the poet endues him with superhuman age

and immobility; the well known stone-seabeast image is followed by the cloud image as the objective individual is colored by the poet's subjective vision. The man seen is no one of the normal outer world; the inner vision has transformed him.

But the old man is to stir the poet's mind even more deeply. In answer to the poet's question, the leech-gatherer relates his story. Stanzas XIV and XV refer to the real leech gather; the language is matter of fact. But as the poet listens, his introversion becomes so powerful that in stanza XVI the real man almost vanishes:

The old Man still stood talking by my side;
But now his voice to me was like a stream
Scarce heard; nor word from word could I divide;
And the whole body of the Man did seem
Like one whom I had met with in a dream;
Or like a man from some far region sent,
To give me human strength, by apt admonishment.

In stanza XVII the depression is back in full force; the action of this stanza still occurs within the poet's mind and the language as Coleridge saw is the poet's language:

My former thoughts returned: the fear that kills;
And hope that is unwilling to be fed;
Cold, pain, and labour, and all fleshly ills;
And mighty Poets in their misery dead,
—Perplexed, and longing to be comforted,
My question eagerly did I renew,
“How is it that you live, and what is it you do?”

As the last lines indicate, contact with outer reality remains; stanza XVIII, to which Coleridge objected as incongruous, returns one to the outer world, to the simple old man confronting the poet:

He with a smile did then his words repeat;
And said that, gathering Leeches, far and wide
He travelled; stirring thus about his feet
The waters of the pools where they abide.
“Once I could meet with them on every side;
But they have dwindled long by slow decay;
Yet still I persevere, and find them where I may.

Stanza XIX, like XVII, returns to the subjective world and the poet's language:

While he was talking thus, the lonely place,
 The old Man's shape, and speech—all troubled me:
 In my mind's eye I seemed to see him pace
 About the weary moors continually,
 Wandering about alone and silently.
 While I these thoughts within myself pursued,
 He, having made a pause, the same discourse renewed.

The subjective image evoked in the first section of this stanza is the real source of the final shift in mood.

I suggest, therefore, that Wordsworth made no alteration and left stanza XVIII in its unadorned, literal state because of this deliberate movement between the subjective and objective worlds. The power of this poem derives from the fusion of outer reality and inner vision; what happens, happens not because the poet met an old man, but because this old man stirred an image in the depths of the poet's inner world. Wordsworth himself suggests by the lines "by peculiar grace / A leading from above, a something given" and by the lines

Or like a man from some far region sent,
 To give me human strength, by apt admonishment

that he felt there had been supernatural intervention. The modern reader finds the far region to be the far region of the mind, the image suggesting what Jung terms the archetype of the old wise man. In either case Wordsworth's poetic judgment seems right; the shift in language in stanza XVIII was no unconscious lapse, but a significant contribution to the movement between inner and outer worlds.

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Correction to "Sweeney among the Epigraphs"

My "Sweeney among the Epigraphs" (*MLN*, LXIX, Dec. 1954, 572-574) gives the erroneous impression that it was I who discovered the source (*Edward III*) of the second epigraph to the poem. I regret not recalling that I had originally learned the source from Professor Grover Smith, who in turn had it from Professor Robert T. Petersson, who got it from Mr. Eliot directly, in a letter dated, according to Professor Smith, 11 October 1949. See Grover Smith,

The Poems of T. S. Eliot 1909-1928: a Study in Symbols and Sources (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1950), pp. 59, 61. The relation of epigraph to poem expressed in my note is, of course, a matter of my own opinion.

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The Hanging Scene in Melville's *Billy Budd*

In some recent scholarship on *Billy Budd*, and particularly in studies by Schiffman and Campbell, the irony in the hanging scene is urged against the generally held view that this last novel shows a changed and more or less orthodox Melville who has ceased to rebel.¹ In *Billy Budd* we are to see the Melville of the earlier novels, still bitterly protesting against social and cosmic evil and making, according to Campbell, a compelling case in Billy's execution for a nihilistic belief in a doomed universe. Campbell construes the symbolic references to Christ's ascension and the Lamb of God in the hanging scene as a refinement of Melville's irony which brings into horrid relief the doom of even the Christ-like in a universe like ours: Billy ascends and arrives at the yard-end; but "The 'arrival' is considerably this side of heaven or heaven's gate," and Campbell concludes that Billy experiences no salvation. When emptied of its religious and transcendental meaning the symbolism appears to carry out this conclusion. But Campbell overlooks those asides, in Melville's own voice in Chapters 11 and 12,² on the Biblical element in the novel which permit retaining the conventional symbolic meaning as part of the total effect of the hanging scene. Here as elsewhere in his works Melville's symbolism is double-edged; for while the religious

¹ Joseph Schiffman, "Melville's Final Stage, Irony: a Re-examination of *Billy Budd* Criticism," *AL*, xxii (1950), 128-136; H. M. Campbell, "The Hanging Scene in Melville's *Billy Budd*, *Foretopman*," *MLN*, lxxvi (1951), 378-381. See also similar scholarship cited by Schiffman, and Lawrance Thompson's *Melville's Quarrel with God* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1952), pp. 406-414.

² I quote from Jay Leyda's edition of the novel in *The Portable Melville* (New York, 1952), which in one important place (see n. 5 below) appears more accurate than F. Barron Freeman's edition (Harvard Univ. Press, 1948). Leyda's edition does not number chapters, and for the reader's convenience I follow the chapter numbering in Freeman's ed.

symbolism sharply outlines the brutal injustice of the hanging of Christ-like innocence and on this level should be taken as an echo of the earlier Melville bitterly reflecting on a universe out-of-joint, at the same time it should be seen as confirming Vere's judgment that at the last Assizes Billy will be saved. That Billy is saved is clear from the religious symbolism when seen in conjunction with a puzzling and phenomenal detail in the manner of Billy's death at the end of Chapter 26—a frequently neglected detail, although Melville devotes the whole of the following chapter to it. A lifeless body, a "prodigy of repose," ascends to the yard-end. Symbolically, this detail strongly suggests a providential death which ironically cheats the gallows.

On one side of its thematic structure the novel, which reads almost like an argument parabolically projected, mercilessly drives to the painful conclusion that the sense of simple truth and justice, "what remains primeval in our formalized humanity" (Ch. 23, p. 720), is inhibited by expediency and legalism in a world awry.³ Captain Vere, a stickler for usage, is so inhibited; he knew the "essential right and wrong" in the case before him, but "he was not authorized to determine the matter on that primitive basis."⁴ Even the common sailors are "of all men the greatest sticklers for usage" (Ch. 24, p. 722); and though at the time of the execution they instinctively felt the injustice, in the end they too believed that "the penalty was somehow unavoidably inflicted from the naval point of view" (Ch. 31, p. 738). On this side of its thematic structure the novel everywhere painfully underscores the brutality of innocence victimized by usage and legalism. Captain Vere, the instrument of legalism, is as much a victim of it as the hero. The formal Vere obeying a code acts like an automaton. And so does the crew: in three scenes (Chs. 24, 28) they are about to protest the injustice, only to end by docilely yielding to "the mechanism of discipline" at the sound of the Boatswain's whistle and the drumbeat to quarters.

But this painful picture does not imply a nihilistic view of man's destiny; nor is the pain unmitigated. For the counter-theme of Divine justice is announced before and during the trial (Chs. 20, 22), and worked out in the hanging scene. To Captain Vere, Claggart's sudden

³ Karl E. Zink ("Herman Melville and the Forms," *Accent*, XII [1952], 131-139) convincingly analyzes the novel as an ironic commentary on social forms.

⁴ P. 706. The MS in an earlier version continues (Freeman's ed., p. 235, n. 23) "not seldom an impracticable abstraction even in civil life and under the most liberal form of it."

death (it is unusually sudden, immediately after Billy's blow the body lying flexible and inert like a dead snake) is full of supernatural signification. His "excited manner . . . never before observed in the *Indomitable's* Captain," and his "passionate interjections," suggest a witness to a revelation: "It is the divine judgment on Ananias! . . . Struck dead by an angel of God" (p. 703).⁵ During the trial Vere, by the heavy compulsion of "military necessity," sets aside the plea of the heart for justice; but at the same time he emphatically affirms it and sanctions it in a Biblical reference: "At the last Assizes it shall acquit" (p. 716).

A token of Divine acquittal and salvation occurs in the hanging scene where Melville resorts to his familiar technique of so manipulating appearances as to suggest a reality transcending or negating them. The law's demand of the ignominy of death by the rope appears to be effected: Billy is hanging from the yard-end. But the execution is described as marvelous, with the powerful ironic implication that it is an execution in name only—the empty gesture of suspending a body already dead and in fact so lifeless that the inevitable spasmodic movement is phenomenally absent: "In the pinioned figure, arrived at the yard-end, to the wonder of all no motion was apparent save that created by the ship's motion, in moderate weather so majestic in a great ship ponderously cannoned" (Ch. 26, p. 730). This "prodigy of repose in the form suspended in air" (Ch. 28, p. 733) becomes the subject of conversation between the Surgeon and the Purser in Chapter 27 which, in Melville's characteristically whimsical and digressive manner, offers the direction for an explanation of the prodigy in the Surgeon's determined effort to keep the discussion from venturing outside "the lexicon of science" into the "imaginative and metaphysical." Such speculation is "in short, Greek" to him, as he puts it in his punning dismissal of the Purser's conjecture that Billy died by "a species of euthanasia." He dismisses another conjecture, his own: "Even should one assume the hypothesis that at the first touch of the halyards the action of Budd's heart, intensified by extraordinary emotion at its climax, abruptly stopped . . . even under that hypothesis how account for the phenomenon [absence of spasmodic movement] that followed?" (p. 731). The Surgeon professes to be unperplexed. But it is clear that he is perplexed and irritated by a fact he cannot explain on scientific grounds, and hides behind

⁵ All other editions including Freeman's read "judgment of Ananias," which is misleading; for the reference is obviously to Acts V, 1 ff.

the discreetly conventional and defensive definition of the phenomenal as merely "an appearance the cause of which is not immediately to be assigned." The scientific expert is subtly ridiculed:⁶ he boasts that under his supervision the hanging had been "scientifically conducted," and yet even on his own terms he is an absurd reader of appearances; for his hypothesis that Billy died of emotional shock stands ridiculously in contrast to the fact that at the moment of execution Billy was unusually calm and spoke "words wholly unobstructed" by a speech defect which everywhere in the novel is the sign of emotional tension.

The fanciful speculation of the man of science, his ill-disguised irritation, and his determined evasion of the issue on grounds other than scientific, draw into relief the mystery of a detail in Billy's death and suggest as valid the very possibilities he dismisses—a painless and providential death at the moment before the suspension. The reality the law intends, and presumably exacts, is the pain and ignominy of death by the rope. But from an inside point of view (Melville subtitled the novel "An inside narrative") this reality is reversed: death is beforehand, and the law is ironically allowed the hanging of a body beyond pain and ignominy.

The revelatory detail of a lifeless body ascending would by itself subtly suggest the sense of the gallows cheated, as if nature were intervening and protesting the injustice.⁷ The suggestion is supported by a religious context of Divine manifestation ("glory"), deliverance ("Lamb of God"), and rebirth ("dawn"). The ascension of Billy into "the full rose of the dawn," and the backdrop of "vapory fleece . . . shot through with a soft glory as of the fleece of the Lamb of God seen in mystical vision," transform the hanging scene into a symbolic and Divine tableau (Ch. 26, pp. 729-30). In Biblical usage "glory" is the equivalent of "Shekinah" in its primary sense of a visible manifestation of Divinity;⁸ and this sense is unmistakable in the unrevised version of the novel which reads, "the full shekinah

⁶ Cf. Ch. 12 on physicians.

⁷ From the description of Billy in Ch. 2 as an "upright barbarian" like Adam "ere the urbane Serpent wriggled himself into his company" to the hanging scene, the novel develops a Romantic contrast between nature and the conventions of "Cain's city and citified man" (p. 649). The contrast involves a sharp dichotomy; Billy's speech defect, for example, is attributed not to nature but to "the arch interferer, the envious marplot of Eden" (p. 650). The contrast with its implied moral strictures culminates in the hanging scene, which is etched against a panoramic backdrop of sky, clouds, and sun.

⁸ See, e.g., Luke II, 9; John I, 14; Hebrews II, 3; II Peter 17-18.

of that grand dawn."⁹ The Lamb of God is not only a symbol of the sacrificial victim, the only symbol commentators see in the hanging as analogous to Christ's Sacrifice; it is also a symbol of deliverance from pain and death. It is so understood in *Clarel* in a passage based on Revelations VII, 13-17:

A fleece—the Fleece upon a throne!
And a great voice he hears which saith,
Pain is no more, no more is death;
I wipe away all tears: Come, ye,
*Enter, it is eternity.*¹⁰

This symbolism has a dual meaning: a stricture on brutal injustice in a man-of-war world, and a severe one since contextually it has a Divine sanction; and an act of salvation and a hope beyond death. In resolving the theme and counter-theme the symbolic ending runs the risk of committing the fault of the *deus ex machina*. It somewhat melodramatically offers a marvelous death, something of a conventional rescue, and a bright spot in an otherwise bleak and frightening picture of the necessity of evil. This melodramatic effect is perhaps poorly handled. But at least it is structurally prepared for. And construing the symbolism in the ending as ironic device argues an effect that contextually does not fit. Elsewhere in the novel the narrator treats Biblical references and parallels (e.g., Adam-Billy and Satan-Claggart; Abraham-Vere and Isaac-Billy) without equivocation and from a point of view no different from Melville's, who has learned that "Coke and Blackstone hardly shed so much light into obscure spiritual places as the Hebrew prophets" (Ch. 11, p. 674). In Chapters 11 and 12 Melville pushes the impersonal narrator aside, and speaking in his own voice uncovers a markedly deferential attitude toward the Bible and complains that it has ceased being authoritative: "if that lexicon which is based on Holy Writ were any longer popular, one might with less difficulty define and denominate certain phenomenal men [like Claggart]. As it is, one must turn to some authority not liable to the charge of being tinctured with Biblical element"

⁹ Freeman's ed., p. 266, n. 38. Campbell sees the revision to "the full rose of the dawn" as evidence of Melville's intention of toning down the religious symbolism. If this was his intention he failed to carry it out in many other places, and in the place cited the revision does not materially affect the religious meaning. The reason for revision may be stylistic: "full rose" accords better with the context of "soft glory" than the foreign and somewhat technical "Shekinah."

¹⁰ *Works* (Standard ed.), I, 325-326; cf. I, 141-142, and Nathalia Wright's *Melville's Use of the Bible* (Duke Univ. Press, 1949), pp. 31, 44-45.

(p. 674). The complaint is relevant to Melville's problem of handling materials which "savor of Holy Writ in its phrase 'mysteries of iniquity'" in a skeptical age represented by men of science like the Surgeon. The complaint is caustically worded: "such savor was far enough from being intended, for little will it commend these pages to many a reader of today" (p. 676). These obiter dicta do not warrant construing the Biblical element as ironic device. At the very beginning the narrative is described unequivocally as a modern re-enactment of a Biblical episode—a modern instance of the conflict between innocence and depravity "apparently going to corroborate the doctrine of man's fall, a doctrine now popularly ignored" (Ch. 3, p. 649).

Schiffman extends the irony to Billy, whose benediction of Vere in the hanging scene is expected to make the reader gag. But in the places where the benediction is anticipated (the trial scene and at the end of Ch. 23), there is no indication of ironic intention. Billy is incapable of the "sinister dexterity" of satiric insinuation (Ch. 1). The relation between Vere and Billy is of a sacramental sort (in Ch. 23 the narrator parallels it to Abraham and Isaac) which does not square with an ironic reading of Billy's benediction. Nor is such a reading convincing from the point of view of the narrator who, it may be argued, uses Billy as an innocent mouthpiece for irony. To the narrator, Vere is also a victim of legalism operating in the worst possible combination of circumstances: war and widespread mutiny. And by way of warning against adverse judgment of Vere, the narrator ends the trial scene with a quotation:

Forty years after a battle it is easy for a noncombatant to reason about how it ought to have been fought. It is another thing personally and under fire to direct the fighting while involved in the obscuring smoke of it. Much so with respect to other emergencies involving considerations both practical and moral, and when it is imperative promptly to act (p. 718).

Construing the benediction and the symbolism in the hanging scene as irony may seem to enrich the meaning. Actually, it oversimplifies the meaning by obscuring a basic dualism—repeated from earlier fiction where it suggests Manicheanism—which runs through the novel: in the theme and counter-theme; in the twinned Vere, the legalistic Captain and the kindly father; in Billy Budd whose perfection is blemished by a stutter, a reminder that "the envious marplot of Eden" is still at work (Ch. 2, p. 650); and even in Claggart himself who feels, like Milton's Satan, an incipient love for his

victim (Ch. 18, p. 689).¹¹ In Melville's earlier fiction this dualism is the source of profound cosmic gloom and absolute defeat: Ahab does not kill the Whale, and Pierre suffers one hell and dies with a vision of another before him. Both heroes die in an agony of defiance and hate. But *Billy Budd* ends on a note of love in the sailors' apotheosis of their hero, which complements on the natural level the providential love of the religious symbolism in the hanging scene. Perhaps this note does not exactly argue a simple shift to orthodox belief and optimism. But it does indicate that nihilistic pessimism is at best an oversimplified reading of the meaning. Pessimism of some other kind prevails, but when the novel is taken in the round pessimism is seen complicated by the heavy weight of conventional religious symbolism and colored by a glimpse of an optimistic and transcendental reality in the hanging scene. The issue is not simply between pessimism and optimism, unbelief and orthodox belief, but a complex at a point beyond them—perhaps at that point defined by Ishmael (*Moby Dick*, Ch. 85): "Doubts of all things earthly, and intuitions of some things heavenly; this combination makes neither believer nor infidel, but makes a man who regards them both with equal eye."¹²

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The Hanging Scene in Melville's *Billy Budd*: A Reply to Mr. Giovannini

Mr. Giovannini says that I fail to see the "basic dualism" in *Billy Budd* and therefore I oversimplify the philosophical implications in the story. But Mr. Giovannini's treatment of this so-called "dualism" is so contradictory that I am afraid that I still fail to see it. At the end of his essay, apparently attempting to hedge in

¹¹ Cf. *Paradise Lost*, IV, 373-374; IX, 459-462; and H. F. Pommer's *Milton and Melville* (Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1949), pp. 88-89.

¹² Similarly, a few years before beginning *Billy Budd* Melville, in a letter referring to *The City of Dreadful Night*, refused to see himself as pessimist or optimist: "As to pessimism, altho' neither pessimist nor optimist myself, nevertheless I relish it in the verse if for nothing else than as a counterpoise to the exorbitant hopefulness, juvenile and shallow, that makes such a bluster in these days—at least in some quarters" (Eleanor Melville Metcalf, *Herman Melville: Cycle and Epicycle* [Harvard Univ. Press, 1953], p. 268).

his argument, he explains this "dualism" as a kind of balance between opposites: "The issue," he says, "is not simply between pessimism and optimism, unbelief and orthodox belief, but a complex at a point beyond them—perhaps at that point defined by Ishmael (*Moby Dick*, Ch. 85): 'Doubts of all things earthly, and intuitions of some things heavenly; this combination makes neither believer nor infidel, but makes a man who regards them both with equal eyes.'" This contradicts his statement at the beginning, which is supposed to be referring to this same "basic dualism":

Here as elsewhere in his works Melville's symbolism is double-edged; for while the religious symbolism [in the hanging scene] sharply outlines the brutal injustice of the hanging of Christ-like innocence and on this level should be taken as an echo of the earlier Melville bitterly reflecting on a universe out-of-joint, at the same time it should be seen as confirming Vere's judgment that at the last Assizes Billy will be saved.

This statement about Billy's salvation is certainly not any "complex at a point beyond pessimism and optimism, unbelief and orthodox belief"; it is simply cosmic optimism and orthodox belief. There is no balance between believer and infidel when one asserts that there is injustice on this earth but all will be made right in the next. In other words, if Melville implied that Billy Budd was in heaven, or was going to heaven, his position would be that of a believer and nothing more complex can be made of it.

Now let us look at Mr. Giovannini's argument for Billy's being in heaven. He says first that I overlook Melville's clearly non-ironic references to the Bible in Chapters 11 and 12 "which permit retaining the conventional symbolic meaning as part of the total effect of the hanging scene." In other words, conventional earlier in the book; therefore conventional at the end. But the earlier references, though not ironical, are far from being conventional in the sense of indicating any triumph over the effects of evil. In fact, like Schopenhauer, his favorite philosopher in his last years, Melville seemed to consider the pessimistic truth of original sin as the only valid aspect of religion;¹ like Schopenhauer, Melville had almost always used only those parts of the Bible which seemed to reinforce his pessimistic philosophy. Even Mr. Giovannini admits that in Melville's "earlier fiction this dualism is the source of profound cosmic gloom and absolute defeat." And certainly the references to the Bible in Chapters

¹ See "Introduction," *Melville's Billy Budd*, ed. F. Barron Freeman (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 121 for Schopenhauer's position.

11 and 12,² all of which are used to help explain the depths of evil in Claggart, are not different in tone from those in the earlier fiction. How, then, even in *Billy Budd*, can Mr. Giovannini argue that a pattern has been established in Chapters 11 and 12 which would "permit retaining the conventional symbolic meaning as part of the total effect of the hanging scene"?

The type of pattern which is really established before the hanging scene is even clearer in other aspects of the story and other comments by Melville that seem to have escaped the notice of Mr. Giovannini. In the first place, Billy was not religious and did not turn to religion even in the dark hours before his execution. For example, on the night before Billy was hanged, "the good Chaplain sought in vain to impress the young barbarian with ideas of death akin to those conveyed in the skull, dial and cross-bones on old tombstones; equally futile to all appearances were his efforts to bring home to him the thought of salvation and a Savior."³ And, still more important, if the religious symbolism in the hanging scene is not to be interpreted as ironical but as really indicating that Billy is "saved" and his soul is in heaven, then it is indeed hard to account for the following emphatic statement by Melville about the "incongruity" of the position of a chaplain on a man-of-war:

Bluntly put, a chaplain is the minister of the Prince of Peace serving in the host of the God of War—Mars. As such, he is as incongruous as that musket of Blucher, etc. at Christmas. Why then is he there? Because he indirectly subverses the purpose attested by the cannon; because too he lends the sanction of the religion of the meek to that which practically is the abrogation of everything but brute force.⁴

If this brute force could be counteracted by the ascension to heaven of souls victimized as was Billy on earth, would the chaplain's presence here be called "incongruous"? On the contrary, he could not be in a more appropriate place.

Mr. Giovannini argues that Billy's death before he was hanged "strongly suggests a providential death which ironically cheats the gallows." That it ironically cheats the gallows is clear, but that it is "providential" is not at all clear. Mr. Giovannini says that the "scientific expert is subtly ridiculed." Perhaps so, but this does not prove anything, for the Purser, who is supposed to reinforce Mr. Giovannini's argument that this death was "providential," is also ridiculed as "a rather ruddy rotund person more accurate as an ac-

² See Melville's *Billy Budd*, ed. Freeman, Chapters 11 and 12, pp. 182-189.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

countant than profound as a philosopher."⁵ The Purser first attributes this strange death to "will power"⁶ and then, on being refuted by the Surgeon, merely asks the Surgeon's opinion as to whether it might have been "a species of euthanasia."⁷

Mr. Giovannini really considers only one of the several significant changes from the short story to the novel version which I noted⁸ as indicating that Melville was toning down the religious symbolism so that he would have just enough to point up the irony but not so much that it would be obscured. The one change which he does consider Mr. Giovannini tosses off by saying that the revision from "full shekinah of that grand dawn" to "full rose of the dawn"⁹ "... does not materially affect the religious meaning." Nevertheless, "rose" is not a religious term and "shekinah" is, and the change would certainly tone down the religious symbolism. If toning down, says Mr. Giovannini, "was his intention he failed to carry it out in many other places." To be sure, because there are not many other places in which this kind of religious symbolism is used. Mr. Giovannini completely ignores the other changes (from the short story to the novel version) which I noted, especially the addition in the novel version of the "ballad" supposedly written by one of Billy's shipmates, concerning which addition in the final version I had this to say:

In the last chapter the superstitious and ignorant sailors preserve for many years the spar from which Billy was suspended, and "To them a chip of it was as a piece of the Cross." [*Melville's Billy Budd*, ed. F. Barron Freeman, p. 278.] These, if anybody, might be expected to maintain that Billy was safe in heaven, but the epilogue, containing the "ballad" [*Ibid.*, p. 279] supposedly written by one of Billy's shipmates, is a completely realistic version of the tragedy. In the words of the poem, Billy, commenting on his own fate, uses no religious language except to say that it was good of the chaplain to pray for him. There is the simple reference to "the running of me up," [*Ibid.*, p. 280] after which there will be a long descent, "Fathoms down, fathoms down," [*Ibid.*, p. 281] and a final sleep where "the oozy weeds about me twist." [*Idem*]. Since this is the epilogue to the final version of the story, it would seem that Melville wished to end on a realistic note to correct any possible misinterpretation of his irony in the hanging scene.¹⁰

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⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁶ *Idem*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁸ Campbell, "The Hanging Scene in Melville's *Billy Budd*, Foretopman," *MLN*, LXVI (1951), 378-381.

⁹ *Melville's Billy Budd*, ed. Freeman, p. 266.

¹⁰ Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

Latin médiéval *brocard(ic)a* > français *brocard*

Voici ce que nous apprend l'éminent historien du droit canon Stephan Kuttner dans son article "Réflexions sur les Brocards des Glossateurs" (*Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S. J.* [Gembloux, 1951], p. 767 seq.) sur le sens du terme médiéval *brocarda* et sur l'état actuel de la question étymologique se rattachant à ce mot :

On sait que les *generalia* ou *brocarda* doivent leur existence au désir des glossateurs, légistes ou canonistes, de rattacher l'explication des décisions particulières qu'ils trouvaient dans les sources du droit à l'énonciation de principes d'ordre général. L'établissement de *generalia* répond donc au besoin d'une science systématique du droit: par voie d'induction et d'abstraction on dérive de tel canon ou de telle *lex* particuliers une certaine pensée normative qu'on exprime, pour la plupart, par une brève maxime et dont, à l'aide de références parallèles (*concordantiae*) et opposées (*contraria*), on éprouve la solidité, c'est-à-dire si et dans quelle mesure elle peut servir de règle générale. C'est par la possibilité d'une telle considération dialectique—possibilité indiquée soit par une antithèse expresse, soit par un simple *contra*, accompagnés des allégations appropriées—que se distingue, dans la terminologie des glossateurs, le *generale* du simple *notabile* ou *argumentum*.

D'après une ingénieuse hypothèse de Hermann Kantorowicz le terme, autrement inexplicable, de *brocarda*, *brocardica*, pourrait bien avoir trait à ce caractère distinctif des *generalia* et reposer sur la déformation, en guise de jeu de mots, de *pro-contra*. [H. Kantorowicz, "The Quaestiones disputatae of the Glossators," dans la *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, t. xvi, 1937-38, p. 4]. Le fait est que le mot se trouve quelquefois épilé *procard(ic)a*; et l'adjonction *vulgo*, *vulgariter* dont le terme est plus d'une fois accompagné [Note: Cfr. la rubrique du ms. de Bruxelles, 131-134 (2558), fol. I: 'Incipiunt generalia que vulgo brocarda dicuntur, a domino Otone composita, et eorumdem discordantium concordia'] démontre qu'il s'agit bien d'une expression de jargon. La dérivation de *brocarda* du nom de l'évêque Burchard de Worms (dont la collection canonique ne contient pas de *generalia* du tout) a été reléguée déjà par Savigny dans le domaine de la légende; elle ne s'en trouve pas moins encore çà et là dans les traités de droit. L'hypothèse de Kantorowicz s'accorderait bien avec le fait que Pillius, qui a introduit le terme *brocarda* dans la langue écrite, n'entendait pas s'en servir pour désigner les *generalia* de son *Libellus disputatorius*, mais bien plutôt ses *Quaestiones*, ainsi donc un genre littéraire qui a en commun avec les *generalia* la discussion à l'aide d'arguments pour et contre. [Note: Il est à remarquer que dans les *Quaestiones* de Pillius un certain nombre de thèmes sont formulés non comme cas particuliers, mais comme théorèmes abstraits sous forme interrogative, et pourraient donc tout aussi bien être présentés comme propositions; c'est précisément à des thèmes de ce genre que Pillius paraît se référer de préférence comme se trouvant in *brocardis nostris*]. Ce n'est qu'après Pillius que *brocardum* est usité tout simplement comme synonyme de *generale*. Mais

encore aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles notre terme était parfois appliqué à toute *materia quae est contrariarum opinionum rationibus involuta*. [Note: Définition donnée par le *Vocabularius iuris utriusque* . . . La définition "brocardicum in iure dicitur quando ex vtraque parte rationibus fortibus pro et contra argumentatur" se trouve dans le *Vocabularius Quia in libris*] En fait, les *Distinctiones* de Pierre de Belleperche qui se présentent presque toutes sous forme de questions didactiques (*cum queritur . . . si queritur . . .*), furent connues aussi, par exemple de Balde, sous le nom de *brocarda*.

Quant aux *generalia* ou brocards proprement dits,¹ "le *contrarium* est dès l'origine un élément caractéristique de ce genre littéraire; la solution des antinomies présentées ne l'est pas. Au premier degré de l'évolution les auteurs se contentent d'aligner les arguments contradictoires qu'ils ont décelés dans les sources: les brocards de ce genre ne forment qu'un arsenal pour la discussion, comme le *Sic et non* d'Abélard. Ce n'est qu'à une étape ultérieure que vient s'y ajouter, par application conséquente de la méthode scolastique, la *solutio contrariorum*, qui établit des distinctions ou d'autres délimitations."

En note M. Kuttner mentionne "à titre de curiosité" l'étymologie de *brocarda* proposée par M. W. Spargo dans *Speculum* (xxiii, pp. 472-6): vieux celtique *broc* 'bariolé, tacheté' (de là le nom irlandais du blaireau *brocc*), auquel aurait été ajouté le suffixe péjoratif français ou anglais-ard: les brocards auraient été des compilations d'origine hétérogène, formulées maladroitement dans un latin de mauvais aloi. Quant à cette description, M. Kuttner se contente d'écrire: "On se demande si M. Spargo a jamais lu des *brocharda* de l'époque des glossateurs." Le linguiste ajoutera que l'explication de M. Spargo est le type d'une étymologie livresque, imaginée à base d'une racine trouvée dans un dictionnaire (probablement dans le NED, s. v. *brock* 'blaireau'): nous n'apprenons pas même, par les termes élastiques de M. Spargo (*broc* "a root originally meaning 'variegated' . . . wandering to England and the Continent, becomes applied to juridical forms . . ."), la langue particulière (anglaise, française, latine?) dans laquelle le transfert sémantique et l'addition du suffixe auraient eu lieu: le mot ainsi que son étymologie deviennent ainsi des "sans-patrie."

Que dire de l'étymologie de MM. Kantorowicz et Kuttner? Elle a été appelée "reichlich kühn" (par trop téméraire) par le médiéviste Paul Lehmann (dans *Bayr. Sitzungsberichte, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1953, fasc. 2, p. 15)—et tout savant possédant une formation linguistique sérieuse se ralliera à ce jugement. Si séduisante que puisse paraître une base étymologique **pro-contra* à des experts du droit canon au

¹ Pour fixer les idées du lecteur, je citerai un de ces *generalia* les plus connus: "qui tacet consentire videtur." Cf. note 4.

point de vue sémantique (puisque peser le pour et le contre était à l'origine des *brocarda*), les difficultés qu'elle soulève sont insurmontables: d'abord, si on trouve à l'occasion des formes avec *p*-, elles peuvent être des graphies de scribes allemands du sud, ne faisant pas de distinction dans leur dialecte entre *b* et *p* (l'article de M. Kantorowicz ne produit pas de texte en appui de son explication étymologique, qui ne prend que quatre lignes); la forme générale du mot semble bien être celle qui commence par *b*. Ensuite, si *brocarda* était *pro-contra*, les usagers de ce terme auraient tout l'intérêt du monde à maintenir les deux termes opposés *pro* et *contra* intacts: une altération par "jeu de mots" avec le nom de Burchard de Worms serait mal venue puisqu' aussi bien Burchard n'a pas écrit de *brocarda*; et particulièrement impossible me paraît la supposition que *contra* (pourtant si important au point de vue sémantique) serait représenté par le seul *c*-initial. On comprend l'abréviation de *contra* en *con* (anglais *the pro and con*) parce que par le monosyllabisme de ce dernier la balance entre les deux termes opposés est rendue d'une façon encore plus rigoureuse; on ne comprendrait guère le sacrifice de la syllabe tonique de *contra* en faveur du vague suffixe péjoratif—*ard*. D'une façon générale, une étymologie présentant un tel nombre de difficultés, même si chacune séparément pouvait être écartée ($p > b$; $contra > c$; $-ard$), n'est pas vraisemblable.

Or, l'adjonction de *vulgo vulgariter* au mot *brocarda* n'indique pas nécessairement une "expression de jargon"—elle indiquera plutôt un mot non-latin, emprunté à une langue autochtone (v. Dr. Cange, s. vv. *vulgariter, vulgaliter* 'lingua vulgari, vernacula'). Il sera donc de bonne méthode de chercher l'origine du terme latin dans un "vernacular" où des formes parallèles existent en effet et peuvent s'expliquer dans le contexte de cette langue. Cette condition est remplie par le français qui connaît *brocard* 'parole de moquerie, raillerie piquante,' *brocarder*, 'dire des paroles de morquerie,' attestés, il est vrai, seulement depuis le XVe siècle (v. Godefroy): dans le *Mystère du Viel Testament* (v. 42105) se trouve un dialogue entre Holophernès et le sénéchal poltron qui n'ose pas le saisir selon l'ordre de Nabucodonosor:

Hol.: Voulentiers on se tire arrière
Des grands coups quand il y a presse.

Sén.: Holophernès, a qui s'adresse
Ce broquart?

Hol.: Ce n'est pas à vous;

dans la farce de l'*Avocat Pathelin* Guillemette dit au drapier :

Ha! Guillaume

Il ne faut point couvrir de chaume [= vous moquer]

Yci ne *bailler ses brocars*.

Alez sornier [= dire des sornettes] a vos coquards [= fous]

A qui vous vous voudrez jouer.

L'étymologie de *brocard* 'raillerie piquante' est évidente; le FEW, s. v. (lat.) *broccus* 'saillant, dit des dents ou des lèvres,' le range avec le français *broche* et *brocher* 'éperonner, percer, aiguillonner, piquer, blesser,' moyen-français *brocher* 'poursuivre de traits piquants' (cf. pour le sématisme français *pointe*, espagnol *agudeza* = 'mot piquant'). Il est vrai que depuis *Ménage*,² qui a donné sa popularité à l'étymologie *brocarda* < *Burchard* que lui avait suggérée l'historien du droit canon Doujat, la plupart des étymologistes³ considèrent le français *brocard* terme légal (dérivé du lat. médiéval *brocarda*), qui n'est attesté que depuis le XVI^e siècle (chez Des Périers et Rabelais),⁴ comme le sens primaire du mot et *brocard* 'mot piquant' déjà attesté au XV^e siècle (avec le verbe *brocarder*) comme sens secondaire. Mais la légende de Burchard de Worms étant écartée, rien ne nous empêche de réexaminer la suite des développements sémantiques: pourquoi le sens 'raillerie piquante' ne serait-il pas le premier? Et en effet, les attestations du vulgarisme *brocarda* en latin depuis le glossateur Pillius (XIII^e siècle) nous garantissent l'existence de ce mot en ancien français. Combien de fois n'arrive-t-il pas au romanisant de trouver en latin médiéval les premières attestations de mots romans n'apparaissant que plus tard dans les textes français, italiens, etc? Il est d'ailleurs très compréhensible que cette attestation de *brocard* antérieure de trois siècles aux textes français⁵ nous vienne par

² Les étymons une fois proposés par des autorités sont opiniâtres: chassés par la grande porte, ils reviennent par la porte-cochère—sous la forme "d'éléments contaminateurs!" "L'érudition est moutonnaire," disait un archéologue français.

³ Ainsi le dictionnaire étymologique de Bloch-von Wartburg répète la dérivation du terme légal de *Burchard*, mais M. von Wartburg dans son FEW n'a plus d'article *Burchard* (et, il est vrai, ne mentionne sous *broccus* que *brocard* 'mot piquant').

⁴ Des Périers: "Mon homme, qui estoit legiste, print à son prouffit le *brocard de droit*: Qui tacet consentire videtur." Rabelais: "La vraye etymologie de Procès est en ce qu'il doit avoir en ses prochatz prou sacs. Et en avons brocards déifiques. *Litigando jura crescunt. Litigando jus acquiritur.*" De 'maxime légale' se développa aussi le sens de 'proverbe' ("Comme dit encore le brocard commun: donnez et despendez deniers, deniers vous viendront; escuez, escuez vous viendront." XVI^e siècle, cf. Huguet).

⁵ Gamillscheg dans son EWFS doute de la dérivation *brocard* 'mot de

l'intermédiaire du latin des juristes: c'est précisément par l'adoption par les légistes d'un mot de la langue parlée, peut-être même vulgaire, dans un sens technique précis, que *brocard* (sous le déguisement de *brocarda*) a pu être attesté dès le XIIe siècle. Pourquoi les glossateurs ont-ils adopté ce mot français en latin? M. Kuttner lui-même nous dit (p. 788): "C'est bien à Modène que Pillius, venu de Bologne vers 1182, a composé son *Liber Disputatorius* [dans lequel il mentionne ses *Quaestiones* sous la forme *in brocardis nostris*]; mais il a été prouvé qu'à plusieurs égards Pillius a subi des influences françaises... et qu'il a eu même des relations personnelles avec le clergé parisien. D'ailleurs il n'est pas sans intérêt d'observer que même chez son adversaire Johannes Bassianus [l'auteur de la *Materia ad Pandectam* dont M. Kuttner cite la définition *argumenta... quae loci generales vel generalia vel vulgariter brocarda appellantur*] l'habitude d'insérer des *generalia* dans un traité systématique... pourrait bien être due à des influences françaises." Rien ne s'oppose donc à la supposition que le terme *brocarda* ait été recueilli par Pillius, le premier qui l'emploie au sujet de ses propres *Quaestiones*, en France, et puisqu'il l'emploie sans discussion (voir les citations dans E. Genzmer, *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung, roman. Abt.* LV, 329), il faut bien admettre que le terme avait été déjà employé dans ce sens avant lui, si l'on veut, dans le "jargon scolaire" de légistes français.

Venons enfin à explication de l'évolution sémantique! Puisque "le *contrarium* est dès l'origine un élément caractéristique de ce genre littéraire" (les *Quaestiones*, etc.), comme dit Kuttner, les *brocards* auront été appelés, non pas d'après les *pro* et *contra*, mais d'après les *contra*: le *brocard* aura d'abord été un 'mot piquant,' puis 'une attaque, répartie, riposte, contradiction, réfutation' (déjà Boèce avait défini: *omnis... quaestio contradictionibus constat*, cf. Kantorowicz). Si le sens de *brocard* était au XIIe siècle encore proche de *broche* et de *brocher* 'piquer, blesser' (et encore au XVIe siècle Rabelais [IV, 9] parle de *brocardz aigres et piquants*), nous ne sommes pas trop éloignés des métaphores habituelles chez Pillius: Genzmer écrit (*l. c.*, p. 333): "Vu que la *tractatio questionis* se présente comme un combat d'arguments et de contre-arguments, nous trouvons facilement chez Pillius

raillerie' de *brocher* à cause du suffixe *-ard*, qui, selon son idée probable, au XIIe siècle ne se trouve pas encore dans des désignations de choses inanimées, Pourtant nous avons *estandard* dans la *Chanson de Roland* (probablement du germ. *stand*) et au XIIIe siècle *fauçard* 'épée en forme de faux' (< *faiz*; cf. Tobler-Lommatzsch).

des images empruntées à la langue militaire. . . . Dans son arsenal de métaphores Pillius n'a pourvu que l'écu, la lance⁶ et le harnais, non pas l'épée." La lance et le brocard piquent, ne taillent ni ne tranchent comme l'épée. C'est probablement à cause de cette nuance 'piquante' que le terme français s'est introduit dans le jargon des étudiants en droit, férus de dialectique.

J'ignore si mon essai d'explication étymologique pourra convaincre les romanisants. Mais au moins je me flatte d'être resté en deça de ce qui est "linguistiquement impossible" et j'espère avoir montré que de grands historiens du droit canon comme Kantorowicz et Kuttner connaissant le monde des *choses* médiévales, mais connaissant moins "le monde des *mots*," se sont exposés à l'erreur. Une direction nouvelle il y a quarante ans proclamait la nécessité pour le linguiste d'étudier *Wörter und Sachen*, les mots en conjonction avec les choses: en ce temps-là le linguiste avait une tendance à négliger ces dernières dans ses explications étymologiques. Dans les études étymologiques d'historiens une variation du slogan me semble s'imposer: *Sachen und Wörter*—les 'choses' doivent être traitées par eux en conjonction avec les 'mots.'

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LEO SPITZER

Alain Chartier and Joachism?

Chartier's *Traité de l'Espérance*¹ was begun in 1428. In 1429, with the work unfinished, Chartier, a fairly well-known figure earlier in his life as a secretary of Charles VII, drops out of our historical sight. It has been suggested that he may have fallen out of Court favor at this time. Might Chartier instead have fallen out of the favor of the Church because of his approving mention of Joachim and application of some of the methods and teachings of Joachim in *Le Traité de l'Espérance*?

In *L'Espérance* (p. 322) Chartier writes:

Et tu celestiel Isaie, qui en la loy de Moyse euz esperit Christien, & sembles mieulx escriueur d'Euangile que annonciateur de Prophetie, descriptus claire-

⁶ Souligné par moi.

¹ *Les Œuvres de maistre Alain Chartier*, ed. A. Du Chesne, 1617.

ment ceste demonstrance en la persecution que tu predicts sur Egypte: laquelle l'Abbé Joachim & autres sainctes personnes ont depuis exposée pour France.

This is certainly a favorable reference to the spurious *Scriptum super Esaiam prophetam* written in the thirteenth century, but commonly attributed to Joachim (c. 1130-1202). Not only does Chartier indicate this approval of the works and, we must suppose, the ideas and methods of Joachim and his followers, but he goes on to apply certain passages of Scripture to the situation in France during his time, in the kind of interpretation generally attributed to Joachim. Chartier writes (p. 323) :

Applique or endroit ces signacles à ta matiere, & regarde quelle pestilence merueillable, & quieulx exploicts de condemnation sont cheuz sur tes Princes & sur les haultes personnes & hommes esleuez de ton Royaume.

We might also ask whether Chartier, almost at the end of the unfinished *L'Esperance*, might himself have been cautiously predicting, in the manner of persons influenced by Joachim, the imminence of the last persecution of the faithful and the coming of the Antichrist. After one of his two passages in the work viciously condemning the clergy of his time, Chartier states (p. 390) :

Recueille par parties ce que ie t'ay dit de la dignité des sacrifices, & de l'indignité des sacrifiens; & ayes pour déterminé, que là où l'abomination de Dieu se tourne contre les sacrifices, la persecution encommence sur les hommes, & especialement sur les sacrifiens. Dont pour leur iniquité il faut qu'autres l'achaptent & comparent, qui est double damnation ausdits sacrifiens, & misere diuerse à autrui. Et pour te satisfaire briefuement ô exemples, selon l'ordre accoustumé, prens ta preuue sur Ophny & Phinees les enfans de Hely & Prestres de l'autier, dont les sacrifices furent abhominables à Dieu. Et la decison de leur cas est traitee en la saincte Escripture comme chose passee. Mais la prophetie de Daniel reste à venir, qui designe la venue d'Antechrist, & le temps de persecution pour les abhominations du temple, & distraction du quotidien sacrifice.

Joachism, which stemmed from Joachim's writings and from the spurious ones attributed to him, led to many of the so-called heresies and religious conflicts of the Middle Ages. Thomas Aquinas contended that Joachim's teachings were heretical and spoke against his books in several of his works. Henry Bett, in *Joachim of Flora* (1931) writes (p. 27) :

[Joachim] became, in fact, a legendary prophet around whose figure raged the long disputes which arose after his death between the Friars and the

Seculars at the University of Paris, between the Conventuals and the Spirituals within the Franciscan Order, and between the Fraticelli and the Papacy [c. 1217-c. 1259]. Every wild dream of the coming of Antichrist, of the last persecutions of the faithful, of the downfall of the Papacy, of the rise of a renewed Church that should be characterized by purity and poverty, of the final Judgement, of the end of all things, found expression in some prophetic screed that was attributed to Joachim, or that was supposed to be an exposition of his teaching.

During Chartier's lifetime there were several singular revivals of Joachimism, of which the French writer must have known. In the late fourteenth century there was a literary revival of it connected with the name of Telesphorus of Cosenza, said to have been a Calabrian hermit, who revived the prophetic ideas of Joachim in a book called *Liber de magnis tribulationibus*, which applied these ideas to the writer's own age. About this same time there was also a revival of Joachimism in France itself in the person of Thomas of Apulia, of whom Bett says (p. 175):

He taught that the Gospel was simply the law of love, and that the whole hierarchical and sacramental system was now superseded. He also wrote a book in which he denounced the sins of the clergy, and proclaimed that the reign of the Holy Spirit had begun, supplanting the reign of the Son, as that had supplanted the reign of the Father.

He was tried by the Bishop and the University of Paris, his book burned, and he himself imprisoned for life as a madman. In 1411 a group of men following William of Heldernisseem revived the same kind of doctrine in Flanders.

Hence, Chartier, with these instances of Joachimism so closely contemporary, must have known the ill-fame of the teachings in the eyes of the orthodox Church. Why then does he make this quite serious reference to Joachim and to other holy persons who expounded Isaiah for France? It will be noted that in the passages quoted above he is applying the prophets to his own period, that in other passages (pp. 304-308, 388-390) he bitterly criticizes the clergy, that he seems at times to be talking cautiously about the three spiritual ages of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and that he too is interested in the relation of the New to the Old Testament, the question that concerned Joachim most in the *Concordia novi ac veteris Testamenti*. Edmund Gardner states:

The *Concordia* deals with [the mystical reading of the human race] mainly from the historical point of view, showing the essential harmony of the Old

and New Testaments, whereby the former, taken in just proportion, is the symbol and precursor of the latter.²

Chartier's interest in this question may be compared:

Le vieil testament propose,
Le nouuel preuee & expose.
Sur gros texte clere glose.
L'vn promect, nonce, & dispose:
L'autre contente, & repose.
Le premier dresse & ordonne,
L'autre acomplit & foisonne
Et meet la fin & la bonne.
L'vn seme, l'autre moisone.
L'vn punist, l'autre pardonne.
L'vn merite, l'autre guerdonne.
Et l'ancien la fueille donne,
L'autre fleurit & boutonne.
Celuy verdoye & bourionne,
Cestuy vendenge & entonne,
Escorcee & fueille habandonne
Et queult les fruiets assignez
Ia pieça predestinez
Par prophetes designez,
Soubz figure encourtinez,
Maintenant determinez,
Ouuers & enluminez,
Desclos & descourtinez.

(*L'Esperance*, pp. 345-346)

The possible reception in France of Chartier's *Traité de l'Esperance* in view of these ideas tinged with Joachism is an interesting question. Is it possible that these ideas in *L'Esperance*, some of which had been considered heretical not many years before by the Bishop and the University of Paris, may have caused Chartier to fall out of the good graces of the Church at this time when he evidently left his book containing the ideas unfinished and after which we find no trace of him? In any case the reflection of Joachism in Chartier's work is interesting.

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MARGARET S. BLAYNEY

² "Joachim of Flora," *Franciscan Essays*, 1912, pp. 50-70.

A quelle époque se rapporte la *Pantagruéline Prognostication*?

Rabelais a employé plusieurs fois la formule "nombre d'or." A la fin de l'"Alamanach pour l'an 1535," Rabelais a dit: "La lettre dominicale sera C, nombre d'or XVI . . ." et cela correspond à des données scientifiques, car, en 1535 (n. s.), le premier dimanche de l'année tomba le 3 janvier et le "nombre d'or" était 16: c'est le reste de la division de 1536 ($1535 + 1$) par 19.¹ Mais, dans la *Pantagruéline prognostication certaine, véritable et infaillible pour l'an perpétuel, nouvellement composée . . . par Maistre Alcofribas architriclin dudict Pantragruel*, on lit: "Du nombre d'or non dicitur; Je n'en trouve poins ceste année, quelque calculation que j'en aye faict."² Y a-t-il là une plaisanterie burlesque? Ou bien y aurait-il une raison pour que Rabelais ne dît rien du "nombre d'or" dans la *Pantagruéline prognostication*? Remarquons, d'abord, que le titre de cet opuscule a varié. Plattard a imprimé *pour l'an Mil DXXXIII*³ et a dit en note: "la date 1533 a été remplacée dans la quatrième édition (Juste) par 1535 et plus tard par la formule: *pour l'an perpétuel*."⁴ Une note de l'édition *variorum* confie: "Je ne saurois dire au juste en quelle année parut pour la première fois cette pièce."⁵ Disons aussi que les plus anciennes éditions de cette plaquette (Nos 6, 7, 8, 17,⁶ 26, 29⁷ de Boulenger) que nous connaissions ne sont pas datées. Le N° 17 contient la formule *pour l'an M. D. XXXV*; le N° 26, *pour l'an M. D. xxxvii*; le N° 29, *Pour Lan M. D. XXXVIII*. Ces renseignements bibliographiques suffiront pour nous convaincre que la *Pantagruéline Prognostication* se rapportait à une année particulière et non pas à l'*an perpétuel* qu'indique le titre de certaines éditions, et malgré le caractère passe-partout de ce livret. Il n'y a qu'un élément, mentionné par Rabelais dans la *Prognostication*, qui pourrait avoir affaire à une année particulière, c'est le nombre d'or dont Rabelais ne veut pas parler. Or, Rabelais a, dans son roman, employé certains nombres, comme 6, 78, parce que pouvaient se rattacher à

¹ Voir *Isis*, XLII (1951), 242.

² Rabelais, *Oeuvres complètes*, éd. J. Boulenger (Paris, 1934), p. 918.

³ *Oeuvres complètes de Rabelais*, éd. J. Plattard (Paris, 1929), v, 202.

⁴ Plattard, v, 351, continuation de la n. 1 de la p. 350.

⁵ *Oeuvres de Rabelais*, éd. *variorum* (Paris, 1823), VIII, 279, n. 1.

⁶ Jean Porcher, *Catalogue de l'exposition organisée à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la publication de Pantagruel* (Paris, 1933), pp. 104 et 107: Nos. 270-273.

⁷ Boulenger, pp. 1012-1015.

eux des significations spéciales ou des superstitions.⁸ Le nombre d'or correspondant à l'année 1532 est 13. N'est-ce pas pour cette raison que Rabelais refuse d'en faire mention? La conclusion que nous en tirerions, c'est que la *Prognostication* daterait originellement de 1532, et aurait, par suite, été publiée dans les premières semaines de 1532 (ou dans les dernières de 1531). Cela serait important à signaler, car la plupart des commentateurs pensent que le "seul titre [de la *Pantagrueline Prognostication*] suffirait à montrer le succès immédiat que remporta *Pantagruel*;"⁹ ils disent aussi que "la célébrité de Pantagruel est telle déjà" que Rabelais met la *Prognostication* "sous son patronage."¹⁰ Rappelons, en outre, que l'édition dite originale de *Pantagruel* est présentée comme ayant été composée par "maistre Alcofrybas Nasier," tandis que le N° 269 de Porcher porte le titre: *Pantagruel . . . Les horribles faictz . . . composés par M. Alcofribas abstracteur de quinte essence*. On voit que Rabelais n'emploie plus là qu'une partie de son anagramme, mais qu'il la fait suivre d'une désignation de fantaisie, comme il l'a fait, quoique diversement, dans les éditions qui nous restent de la *Prognostication*, ce qui semble indiquer que nous n'avons plus l'édition originale de cet opuscule où Rabelais a dû employer l'anagramme tout entière,¹¹ qui seule est compréhensible.

Si l'on accepte notre argumentation, il s'ensuivrait que la *Prognostication* avait d'abord été composée pour l'an 1532 et publiée probablement dans les derniers mois de 1531 ou dans les premiers mois de 1532. Or, la plus ancienne mention de *Pantagruel* est du 25 septembre 1533, ce qui semblerait indiquer que cet ouvrage, "le plus récemment entré"¹² dans la bibliothèque de Jacques Le Gros, a dû être publié

⁸ Voir Marcel Françon, "Note sur Rabelais et les nombres," *Isis*, XLI (1950), 298-300.

⁹ Boulenger, p. 9.

¹⁰ Porcher, p. 100.

¹¹ Sur une autre anagramme de Rabelais, voir V.-L. Saulnier, éd. *Pantagruel* (Paris, 1946), p. xxvi, n. 2. La plus ancienne édition de Gargantua dont nous ayons le titre est indiquée comme ayant été composée par "L'abstracteur de quinte essence" (N° 276 de Porcher; le titre manque au N° 275). Le N° 282 nous révèle que la *Vie . . . du grand Gargantua* a été jadis composée par M. Alcofribas, abstracteur de quinte essence (1542). L'éditeur Juste a rétabli, dans le titre de *Gargantua*, le nom Alcofribas, probablement pour se conformer au titre de *Pantagruel*, publié la même année, par Juste, et "suivi, avec pagination continue, de la *Pantagrueline prognostication* pour l'an perpétuel" (Porcher, p. 111).

¹² Abel Lefranc, "Les plus anciennes mentions du 'Pantagruel' et du 'Gargantua'," *RER*, III (1905), 216-221. La condamnation de *Pantagruel* par la Sorbonne, à laquelle fait allusion une lettre de Calvin des derniers jours d'octobre 1533, a dû être prononcée peu de temps après la publication du livre.

assez peu de temps avant cette date. Si Rabelais fait allusion à Pantagruel, dans le titre de sa *Prognostication*, et s'il a qualifié son auteur de "architrichin dudict Pantagruel," il fait probablement allusion, non au personnage de son roman, mais à celui des mystères.¹³ La *Prognostication* ne peut être invoquée pour prouver la date de publication de *Pantagruel*, ni pour témoigner du succès du roman rabelaisien.

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MARCEL FRANÇON

Proportion in *Micromégas*

In his excellent critical edition of *Micromégas*, Prof. Ira O. Wade points out, among other things, that this short *conte philosophique* is a unified work of art in which form, expression, content and meaning (these elements being the story, and undetachable from the story) embody and exemplify the qualities of contrast, variety, proportion, rhythm and harmony.¹ In truth, the qualities of proportion and disproportion, which occupy us here, are strikingly brought out. One of the main differences between Sirius and Earth lies in proportional size. But, although Sirius is vastly larger than our planet, it is similar to it in that both are material bodies subject to universal natural laws. There are also great differences based on spatial proportions between the inhabitants of Sirius, Saturn and the Earth, for the Sirian's size makes the inhabitant of Saturn, for whom Earthlings are infinitely tiny, seem like a dwarf. Yet, as in the physical constitution of the planets, there are remarkable similarities in the psychological makeup of the inhabitants of the planets and in the life they lead which indicate that the men from outer space are, in the earthly sense, quite human.²

For example, Sirius, in spite of its bulk, is not less plagued than Earth by intolerance and censorship. After all, *Micromégas'* book

Ce qui peut être affirmé, c'est que ce n'est qu'à l'automne de 1533 que le roman de Rabelais est mentionné dans des documents certains. Rappelons, d'autre part, que la plus ancienne édition connue de *Pantagruel*, avec une date, est de 1533.

¹³ Voir Saulnier, p. xii.

¹ *Voltaire's Micromégas*, ed. Ira O. Wade (Princeton, 1950), p. 106.

² Prof. Wade says: "We can conclude now that *Micromégas* is a story of values, not extreme values, not ultimate values, but real human values, measured with proportion in intellectual terms" (*op. cit.*, p. 102).

on fleas is condemned by ecclesiastical and juridical authorities without a fair reading, and the author's punishment, although more impressive than those inflicted on imprudent European writers, is essentially the same—eight hundred years of exile. The giant Sirian is not free of human pride, for, as Voltaire remarks, he smiles at the miniscule Saturnians and their little globe as an Italian musician of the time might laugh at Lully's music. The great inhabitants of Sirius, like the proportionately tiny Earthlings, are conscious of their relative insignificance in the universe, and the Saturnians complain of their fifteen thousand year life span as men on Earth do of their four score and ten. Like a Frenchman, the Saturnian has a mistress who had resisted his wooing at first and who complains at being left suddenly by her lover, although as Saturnians their abortive affair lasted seventeen hundred years. These examples, selected from many, point out the fact that, according to Voltaire, all human beings, although disproportionate in size, capacities, and knowledge, suffer in equal proportion from superstition, discontent, insecurity, conceit, and emotional instability. Yet at one point, this pattern of similarity in variety and in disproportion is strangely broken.

The occasion of this rupture is the discussion of war. The paragraph beginning Chapter Seven seems to be developing according to the pattern, for Micromégas asserts that he has never found happiness anywhere in the universe. Another similarity with the Earth, one thinks. But then, one of the Earthling philosophers, in order to show how unhappy his planet really is, describes the war of the Turks against the Austrians and the Russians: "il y a cent mille foux [sic] de notre espèce couverts de chapeaux, qui tuent cent mille animaux couverts d'un turban." The quarrel, he adds, concerns "un tas de boue grand comme votre talon" (p. 140). Now, according to the pattern of disproportion in size linked with fundamental psychological identity, we might assume that the Sirian would report satirically that on his planet armies of incredible magnitude had from time immemorial fought over immense territories, many times the size of the Earth, but just as stupidly, selfishly, and futilely as diminutive Earthlings. Such, of course, is not the case. The Sirian is outraged, crying: "Ah malheureux . . . peut-on concevoir cet excès de rage forcenée? Il me prend envie de faire trois pas, et d'écraser de trois coups de pied cette fourmillière d'assassins ridicules" (p. 141). How is it that a being shown to be familiar with human weakness and folly of many kinds has never heard of war? Why should

this source of man's misery not be universal as well as the others? Two explanations seem possible.

The first explanation is that Voltaire's intense hatred of war caused him deliberately to break the pairing of disproportion and similarity so that the horror and futility of war might be thrust out at the reader. Folly, weakness, vice, jealousy, and superstition, it would be suggested, may be understandable and universal human failings, but war is beyond the pale and merits no indulgence. This explanation has the advantage of supporting the view of Voltaire as a careful artist and *Micromégas* as a delicately balanced artistic unit. But this theory also has the disadvantage of suggesting that the pattern was established only to be broken effectively, and that the satire on war is of paramount importance in the story.

The other explanation is that in mentioning war Voltaire the artist was momentarily effaced by Voltaire the *philosophe*, the propagandist, the enlightened man, with the result that the interplay of harmony and proportion is, for a moment, inadvertently suspended. Prof. Wade says:

Where contrast, proportion, variety occur and where balance is a necessity, there is always the danger that the scales may be overweighted. In other words, the structure might easily fall apart, the unity destroyed. A character is thus necessary to assume the balance, and preserve the unity. . . . In *Micromégas*, the role is taken by Voltaire himself (p. 104).

As usual, the editor is right. The recurrent "je" does tie the whole story together. In the case of the discussion of war, Voltaire may have put his thumb on the scales, but only the most rigoristic proponent of literary unity and the autonomous pattern would say that this *conte* is, because of such a lapse, any less effective a literary work.

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CLIFTON CHERPACK

Zola on Naturalism in Art and History

Emile Zola's article, "Le Lendemain de la Crise," published in 1875, put him out of a job as journalist. Its content caused the duc de Broglie to suppress *Le Corsaire*, the newspaper in which it was printed, thus effectively ending Zola's collaboration.¹ At this

¹ Denise LeBlond-Zola, *Emile Zola raconté par sa fille* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1931), p. 92.

moment in his career Zola could ill afford to forego this source of income. Furthermore, his articles in newspapers and periodicals were familiarizing the reading public with his name, a fact which he hoped would increase the sale of his novels. These articles also enabled him to expound his theories of literature, particularly that of naturalism.

Through the good offices of Turgenev, however, Zola found a new source of income and a new outlet for his critical opinions. The Russian novelist persuaded his own publisher, M. M. Stassulevich, to accept articles from Zola for publication in *Vestnik Evropy*, a widely circulated bourgeois-liberal Russian periodical printed in St. Petersburg.²

Zola was at this time evolving his theory of naturalism in literature. In a letter dated January 22, 1879, and addressed to Maupassant, Flaubert's comment on the success of the dramatization of *L'Assommoir* indicates that the French reading public was not fully familiar with Zola's views. "Je suis content du succès pécuniaire pour Zola. Mais ça ne consolide pas le naturalisme (dont nous attendons toujours la définition)".³ The Russian readers of Zola's articles in *Vestnik Evropy* were in many instances acquainted with his literary theories several years earlier than his French readers.

In the evolution of Zola's definition of *naturalism* as a literary and artistic doctrine, four of his articles for *Vestnik Evropy* are of special interest, since they are still extant only in Russian.⁴ The third of Zola's monthly "Paris letters" for the Russian periodical is an

² In a letter dated 18/6 January 1875 Turgenev suggested to Stassulevich: "Would you not like to receive from Zola a 'Paris review' (without his signature)? He will do this cleverly and sensibly. It is true that you already have a Paris correspondent, but Zola would be able to attract attention to literary, artistic and social events. If you like this idea, let me know and inform me what you would propose to fix as a price (p. 48, vol. III of *M. M. Stassulevich i yego sovremeniki v yix perepiski*, ed. M. K. Lemke [St. Petersburg, 1912]). A brief exchange of letters in which Turgenev spoke enthusiastically of Zola convinced Stassulevich to accept the proposal. Zola's first article, on the election of Alexandre Dumas-fils to the Académie Française, was printed in the March 1875 issue of *Vestnik Evropy* and signed simply E. The next seven articles were signed E. Z—e; the ninth, on the Goncourt brothers, bore his full signature. Zola continued to contribute monthly through December 1880.

³ *Correspondence*, 8e série (1877-1880), éd. Conard (Paris, 1930), p. 292.

⁴ As in the case of some of his articles appearing in French newspapers, Zola may have considered some of his "Paris Letters" unworthy of reprint in book form. There was, however, a Russian edition of his "Paris Letters" 1875-1877, published in St. Petersburg in 1878 and reprinted there in 1882. A second volume, to contain further "Paris Letters," was announced but never saw print.

account of the 1875 Exposition of Painting in Paris. In a comment on Edouard Manet, who exhibited "Argenteuil" that year, Zola seems to visualize naturalism as a movement which will encompass not only literature but all of art.

Manet is a contemporary artist, a realist, a positivist. He draws people as he sees them in life, on the street or in their home, in an ordinary situation, dressed in accordance with our mode, in a word—contemporary . . . Manet is the most original painter of his time, the only one who, after Courbet, has distinguished himself by his truly original traits, harbingers of that *naturalist* school about which I dream for the renewal of art and for the expansion of human creative work.⁵

This same article also places Fantin-Latour in the "young naturalist school" on the basis that his portrait of "Mr. and Mrs. E." is "very simple and truthful, nothing is invented, both personages are captured just as they are in real life."⁶ His account of the Painting Exposition of 1876 again mentions Manet as a "naturalist painter":

Manet fabricates nothing, he composes nothing, but is satisfied with copying subjects grouped by him in a corner of his studio. Do not demand of him anything but a true, literary translation. He is a *naturalist*, an analyst. He can neither sing nor philosophize. He can draw, that is all, and this is such a rare gift that thanks to it he has become the most original artist of the past fifteen years.⁷

The traits emphasized in the appraisals of these two painters are the same as those which characterize naturalism as Zola defined it for the novel and the drama: the choice of a commonplace contemporary subject, careful observation and painstakingly exact reproduction of nature. These same traits, however, as effectively characterize the realist movement in painting which had reached maturity in Courbet's "Enterrement à Ornans," painted twenty-six years earlier. Zola seems to have dropped his considerations of naturalism as applied to painting while they were still in an embryonic stage, perhaps because even he could see that they differed too little from already accepted principles of realist painting. None of his art criticisms published in French either before or after his association with *Vestnik Evropy* use the term naturalism in connection with painting.

In two other "Paris Letters" Zola gives examples of the doctrine of naturalism as applied to the writing of history. His review of the

⁵ "Paris Letter," *Vestnik Evropy*, June 1875, pp. 887-888.

⁶ Article cited, pp. 895-896.

⁷ "Paris Letter," *Vestnik Evropy*, June 1876, p. 898.

first volume of Taine's *Origines de la France contemporaine* praises Taine's work as the strictest application of the *naturalist* method of historical writing:

Free of personal passions, spurred on solely by the thought of educating himself and others, he throws France of a century ago on the table of an anatomical amphitheater, dissects it with calm curiosity, trying to explain its structure and to understand why this great social mechanism had suddenly broken down, and how it was later repaired and set in motion again. He is a pure *naturalist* . . . for him there exists only an inexhaustible quantity of little facts that it is indispensable to group into a system, if one wishes to possess the secrets of social life.⁸

It is curious to note that in an address written for a meeting of the Congrès scientifique de France in Aix in 1866 Zola had used almost identical terms in describing Balzac as an "anatomist of the soul and the flesh." These two references clearly show that Zola had been struck by the analogy between experimental medicine and the art of novel-writing some fourteen years before he published his *Roman expérimental*, which, incidentally, first appeared in *Vestnik Evropy*.⁹

A further example is given in a necrological article, "Thiers, Founder of the Third Republic," in which Zola appraises Thiers as a historian—a *naturalist* historian:

History as Thiers understood it is not history in the manner of Michelet, that priest, that seer, whose impassioned imagination recalled and revived past centuries. Basically, Thiers as a historian is but a compiler and his only care is to seek to attain to the truth of facts, relying on the greatest number of documents possible.¹⁰

M. M. Stassulevich, at first sympathetic with Zola's theories, provided him a vehicle for their expression. He lived to regret his generous decision. The growing number of protests from Russian readers, and from critics of other Russian periodicals, caused him to instruct the translator of Zola's articles to substitute the less offensive terms *realism* and *realist* for *naturalism* and *naturalist*, which had by then acquired odious connotations. As a result of these liberties taken with his manuscripts, Zola's heretofore congenial relationship with his Russian publisher became strained; his last "Paris Letter" for *Vestnik Evropy* appeared in the December issue of 1880.

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⁸ "Paris Letter," *Vestnik Evropy*, February 1876, pp. 869-70.

⁹ Five of the seven chapters constituting the book form of the *Roman expérimental* published in France in September 1880 first appeared in *Vestnik Evropy* between January 1879 and March 1880.

¹⁰ "Paris Letter," *Vestnik Evropy*, October, 1877, p. 868.

A Little-Noticed *Parecer* by Francisco de Quevedo

In the summer of 1617 Quevedo arrived in Madrid from Italy. He was the official representative of Don Pedro Téllez-Girón, the Duke of Osuna and Viceroy of Naples, and also the bearer of the contribution of the Neapolitan Parliament to the Spanish Crown in the amount of 1,200,000 ducats. In addition, he was personally responsible for defending Osuna's bold and often war-like policies before a Court which wanted nothing but peace, and this even at the price of honor. In the face of contradictory orders from Madrid, the Duke of Osuna had sent a strong fleet of galleys into the Adriatic Sea. His purpose was to disrupt the trade of the wealthy Republic of Venice and so prevent further Venetian financial aid to the Duke of Savoy, who at that time was fighting the Spaniards in Lombardy. In July King Philip III, bent on peace, ordered Osuna to remove his fleet from the Adriatic immediately, and the Duke obeyed, protesting to some of his friends that "nos deja S. M. en los cuernos del toro."¹

In Madrid Quevedo undertook to convince the King and his Council of State of the error of leaving the Adriatic Sea open to the Venetians and the Turks. Early in October he read a *parecer* before the Council defending Osuna's policies. This paper is an unusually well-constructed presentation of a complicated situation, and yet its merits have remained unnoticed. Fernández-Guerra and Astrana Marín omit all mention of it, and Ernest Mérimée summarizes it in one sentence.²

The first two long sentences of Quevedo's paper are a complete but concise statement of the Italian problem:

El duque de Osuna, biendo q. el duque de Saboya en esta guerra de Lombardía no ponía otra cossa que la mala intención y que la gente era de Francia y el dinero de Benecía, y considerando que en la guerra la gente seguía el dinero, y que a él se rreduzía todo, tomó por rremedio para acabar la guerra en Lombardía y desarmar al Duque, neçesar a los benecianos de todas sus fuerças y caudal para defensa del Golfo [Adriático], y de la presunción y banidad con que le llaman suyo. Consiguíó esto inmediatamente, pues luego q. los galeones del duque de Osuna costearon el mar Adriático, tubieron

¹ Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España (Madrid, 1865), XLVI, 85. Abbrev. Codoin.

² Mérimée, *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres de Francisco de Quevedo* (Paris, 1886), p. 50. See also Aureliano Fernández-Guerra, "Vida de D. F. de Q." in *Obras de D. F. de Q.* (Madrid, 1852), I, (BAE XXIII), xxxix-lxxx, and Luis Astrana Marín, *La vida turbulenta de Q.* (Madrid, 1945).

neçessidad beneçianos de guarneçer las marinas y armar baxeles, con que en el Friuli dibilitaron [sic] el exe[rei]to y en Lonbardia desacreditaron el socorro, y últimam[en]te confesaron con tres nuebas inpusiçiones, el mes de Mayo, que aun para sí no tenfan lo neçess[ari]o.²

Quevedo makes Osuna's intelligence obvious: the Duke knew war was fundamentally a matter of which party could spend more money on arms and mercenary soldiers, and so he struck at Venice, the source of Savoy's funds. He also realized that the only defense of Venice itself was the control of the Adriatic Sea. Though Osuna's ships were much further from Venice than were the troops of Archduke Ferdinand in Friuli, they had penetrated the only walls of the lagoon-city.

The remainder of this paragraph lists the results of Osuna's actions, ending as follows: "Estos efetos no pueden [sic] dificultarlos en gloria del duque de Osuna nadie, sin gran corrimiento, pues los aseguran los efetos en una y otra parte." Quevedo's paper was a defense of his friend, and he took care to place Osuna's name in some of the most important places. Thus the very first words of the discourse are the Viceroy's name, and now, by way of summing up the many benefits to Spain described in this first paragraph, he attributed them all to the Duke.

With the stage thus set, Quevedo turned from the war of the last few months to the peace Madrid now sought. He made the point that if Philip III wanted peace, it was the Duke of Osuna who, by draining the treasure of Venice and strangling Savoy, would enable the King to obtain it. With a precision and force rare in seventeenth-century Spain, he listed seven accomplishments of the energetic Viceroy. The most important were the public demonstration of the power of a mere minister of the King of Spain, the troops sent by land to fight Savoy, the disproof of the myth of Venetian power and wealth, and the capture of two rich Venetian merchant ships which could now be used to bargain for peace. All this had been done without touching the Royal Treasury. In closing this part of his argument,

² My text is taken from the MS. in the Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, legajo 1880, no. 254. The paper is published, with modernized orthography, by Fernández-Guerra (BAE XLVIII, 638) and in Codoin, XLVI, 137. Astrana Marín's early edition, in *Obras completas en prosa* (Madrid, 1945 [1st ed. 1932], p. 1629, contains six errors (such as "lo supieron" for "le supieren" and "contentan" for "contentará"), and his latest edition, in *Epistolario completo de D. F. de Q.* (Madrid, 1946), p. 73, contains twelve errors (such as "armas y bajeles" for "armar bajeles" and "puede" for "pueden"). The MS. is not an autograph, but a very clear copy by an *escribano*.

Quevedo insisted on the great credit due to Osuna: "El premio q. el duque de Osuna pretendía de todas estas cossas no fué nunca otro que liçençia para continuarlas con mayores acrecentamientos."

This striking and well-placed statement is the climax of the list of Osuna's achievements, and in the next sentence Quevedo pointed out that Philip III, by his own action, was threatened with losing all the potential of Osuna's achievements: "Oy ha benido nueba q. los generales [de la mar] de Nápoles y Siçilia an sacado sus esquadras del mar Adriático." Quevedo let this jolting sentence remain as incomprehensible as possible. His disgust, and even more that of Osuna, may well be imagined. The boldness with which he now addressed an absolute monarch can only be explained by the loyalty and energy of his defense of the Duke:

Si salieron del mar Adriático llamados del virrey de Siçilia, fué anticipadamente, y se pudo escusar . . .

Si sacaron las galeras en obediencia de la carta ordinaria de V. M.^d, en que suele prebenir esto, se debió tener consideración a la grande inpressa q. se tenía entre manos, y que para los suçessos que se esperaban, no eran considerables los suçedidos, con ser de tanto peso. . . .

In the second sentence Quevedo did not say "se pudo escusar."

The satirist now listed some five disastrous effects of the withdrawal of the Adriatic fleet. The Venetians had been given a much-needed respite and could resume their trade, their attacks on Archduke Ferdinand in Friuli, and their support of Savoy against Spain. They also boasted that they had driven the King of Spain out of the Adriatic. The Turks were offered new opportunities for piracy. After presenting his case so well, Quevedo's conclusion was precisely what it should have been: obvious. "Todas las cossas que rresultaron tan en gloria de V. M.^d, con admiración de las naciones a que siempre preçedieron sus rreales órdenes, oy son al rrebés."

This paper could only have been written by one both thoroughly familiar with the subject matter and capable of contriving a persuasive argument. It is first-hand written evidence of the skill with which Quevedo defended Osuna in Madrid: even the hostile Council of State admitted that "él, como tan enterado de las cossas, y con el zelo que tiene del s[er]ui[ci]o de V. M.^d, lo dize todo muy bien."⁴ The conceits so typical of Quevedo's style in the satirical works have no place here. But his ability for compact statement is evident, as in the opening

⁴ "Consulta del Consejo de Estado," Oct. 14, 1617, Simancas, Estado, leg. 1880, no. 253. Published by Fernández-Guerra (BAE XLVIII, 638).

sentences, and there is also a skill which has been found wanting in his better-known works. This is the careful construction described in detail above, an unusual attention to sentence-order and the organization of paragraphs. Scholars such as Fernández-Guerra and Ernest Mérimée have complained of the disorder of many of Quevedo's works. The former once wrote as follows: "No puede perdonársele nunca la falta de plan, de proporción en los miembros, y de método en la expresión de las ideas, que hace desmerecer muchas de sus obras, y especialmente aquéllas donde es indispensable el buen orden y concierto."⁵ This criticism can be justly applied to some, or perhaps many, of Quevedo's works, but the *parecer* just discussed is an interesting exception to any such generalization.

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REVIEWS

Adrien Bonjour, *The Digressions in Beowulf* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1950. xvi + 80 pp. 7s 6d. Medium Ævum Monographs, 5). THE so-called "digressions and episodes" in *Beowulf* have long plagued the critics. To Klaeber they "interrupt the story"; to Lawrence they "often seem . . . to clog the action, and distract attention from it"; to Ker some "are strictly relevant and consistent," but others "seem to be irrelevant, and may possibly be interpolations"; to Chambers they are "for the most part . . . not strictly apposite." Now Mr. Bonjour has taken up the cudgels in defense of the poet and undertaken "a systematic study of the digressions in *Beowulf*, from a purely artistic point of view" (p. xv). He has set himself the task of trying to answer these main questions: "what part do the various digressions play in the poem considered as a work of art? In what measure are they artistically justified, and what is their relation to the structural (or spiritual) unity of the poem?" (p. xv).

The passages treated are those listed in Klaeber's section dealing with "digressions and episodes" (*Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg* [3rd ed., 1936], pp. liii ff.), although to several of these Mr.

⁵ "Discurso preliminar," in *Obras de D. F. de Q.*, I (BAE XXIII), xxxi. See also Mérimée, *Essai*, p. 222.

Bonjour does not give independent discussion. An episode he defines as "a moment which forms a real whole and yet is merged in the main narrative," a digression as "more of an adjunction" which "generally entails a sudden break in the narrative" (p. xi). He applies this distinction, however, only when dealing with specific passages, otherwise employing the terms "indifferently." His method has been, first, to divide the passages under fire into three main groups: 1) those concerning Beowulf's life and Geatish history; 2) the others of historical or legendary character; 3) those of Biblical character. The two remaining passages, the story of Scyld and the Elegy of the Last Survivor, he treats separately, "owing to their peculiar character" (p. xvi). Then, in the final chapter, he re-classifies all the passages which he has considered: 1) those that concern the background of the poem; 2) those directly connected with the main theme.

By adopting this new approach, by subjecting each of the "digressions" to the test of art, Mr. Bonjour has made a real contribution to our understanding of the poet's narrative technique. By bringing to his subject his own keen perception of artistic values and knowledge of artistic techniques, he has helped us to see that this man was an artist of high order, using his heritage of Germanic (and Christian) story material with the same consummate skill with which he used the Germanic poetic technique and poetic vocabulary. In his discussion of the individual passages, Mr. Bonjour has given many interesting and valuable interpretations, although some of the arguments are less satisfying than others.

The primary reason for this defect, in the opinion of the present reviewer at least, is that, as Mr. Bonjour himself puts it (p. 70), "as we have concentrated our investigation on the episodes, the main theme of *Beowulf* has generally been suffered to remain 'in the rear'"; he brings that main theme into the foreground only in the final chapter when he is ready to draw his conclusions. This is a defect of virtually all discussions of the structure of the poem. We are beginning to suspect that the structure of *Beowulf*, far from being marked by looseness, is as highly complex as, for example, the rhetorical patterns or the patterns of variation used to build portrait and picture. But not until every incident of the main plot as well as of the secondary narrative, every episode, every apparent digression, every allusion has been studied in its relation to the minor as well as major themes can we fully understand the structure of the poem, or even

draw valid conclusions about the type of poetry to which it belongs (is it in fact an epic?). Long ago Lawrence compared *Beowulf* with "an elaborate piece of polyphonic music" in which "against the main themes of the epic there run, contrapuntally, minor themes," and, further, "allusion and reminiscence, leading themes and minor themes, are interwoven with bewildering variety."

A case in point is the allusion to the fate of Heorot (ll. 82-85), coming as it does at the moment we are told that the hall, finished, stands high—a symbol of Danish pride, glory, and power in the North. All Bonjour says—all anyone could say without taking into account all the themes of the poem—is: "The very fact that the poet refers to its disastrous end precisely at the moment in which he tells us of its construction and unsurpassed splendour is the first obvious instance in the poem of one of the author's favourite devices. The contrast inherent in the sudden *rapprochement* between a brilliant thing or harmonious situation vividly set forth and a brief intimation of disaster adds, in an effective way, to the impression of melancholy and sadness in which so much of the poem is steeped" (pp. 44 f.). Once, however, we consider that this is the story of the glory and destinies of nations as well as the story of the feats and fame and destiny of a hero; that the tragedy depicted is that of two of the greatest dynasties in the northern world, both of which in the sixth century fell before their enemies, as well as the tragedy of one of the greatest heroes in Germanic story, who fell before the Dragon; that the predominant tone of the poem is antiquarian; and that a main theme of the poem is, as Tolkien put it, "that man, each man and all men, and all their works shall die"—then, recalling that nations and dynasties as well as individuals die (and many did in the turbulent times of "the heroic age") and that this hall is a work of men symbolizing the greatness of the Danes, and particularly of the Scylding dynasty, we must ponder well the question: is this allusion in fact a digression?

Certain errors in fact (for example, the incorrect statement on p. 45 that the interpretation of *geceas ecne ræd* (l. 1201) as "he [Hama] died" is "now generally abandoned") may perhaps be directly related to gaps in the bibliography. To be sure, as we are told on p. vii, the monograph was written in 1944, although its publication was delayed by the war, and in consequence we should not expect to find in the bibliography anything published since 1943, nor much published during the early years of the war. But it is a pity

that Mr. Bonjour did not have the benefit of Else von Schaubert's excellent notes in her revision of the Heyne-Schücking *Beowulf* (1940); nor of Anton Pirkhofer's penetrating comments in his *Figurengestaltung im Beowulf-Epos* (1940); nor of Arthur G. Brodeur's two essays on the Finn Episode (University of California Publications in English III [1943], 285-362 and [Calif.] *Essays and Studies* XIV [1943], 1-42), with Kemp Malone's reply (*ELH* X [1943], 257-284), which are now indispensable to anyone who would analyze that episode.

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CAROLINE BRADY

Madeleine Doran, *Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1954. xi + 482 pp. \$6.00).

PROFESSOR Doran's book is a well-reasoned and amply documented attempt to outline the frame of artistic reference within which the popular dramatists of the Elizabethan and Jacobean age wrote their plays, and to show the playwrights' creative response to the artistic consciousness of their time. To achieve this purpose the author gives a survey of the critical works of the Renaissance (English, Italian, French) and interprets their main critical tenets. Moreover, she explores the less explicitly defined tastes of the period which are implied in those works of art which were imitated or adapted by the dramatists.

In thus furnishing a synthesis Professor Doran admittedly covers a great number of facts already known to students of the time. But her ability to unite points of view which until now had been discussed separately renders these parts of her work a compendium which had been lacking hitherto and will therefore be valuable for the future study of Shakespeare and his fellow-dramatists. The ideal of eloquence, verisimilitude, and moral aim are discussed first in the context of what the theorists held proper for poetry in general. The importance of rhetoric and the decorative quality of most Renaissance rhetoric in theory and practice is emphasized in its relation to the medieval *ars dictaminis* and *ars praedicandi* and contrasted with Aristotle's, Cicero's and Quintilian's functional eloquence. Verisimilitude and "imitation" are rightly proved not to have meant any sort of realism (although there were exceptions), but primarily fidelity to the fundamental inner truths of nature and the

world of experience (cf. the discussion of Art vs. Nature, pp. 54 ff.). "Decorum" was connected with a typology of character, social rank, speech, etc., as well. The strong emphasis on ideal truth is then brought into relation with the moral aim of poetry, a commonplace of the time which was, however, especially typical of English criticism (for this, I think, not only the temper of the English Reformation, but also the marked pedagogical pathos of pre-reformation English humanism was responsible). In this way a set of three major critical categories appears which is rounded off by a discussion of conventional theories of tragedy and comedy. These theories on the whole show a utilitarian and often crudely didactic spirit which is similar to the moral aim idea.

Turning to the general taste of the period the author finally speaks of the strong epic tradition of the Middle Ages expressed in romantic story and epic mystery plays, the Italian novelle, Seneca, Plautus and Terence, etc. But apart from the classical plays all these opinions and tastes did not favour the principle of dramatic unity which is necessary for a convincing form of drama. Ornamental eloquence was not structural; the discussion of verisimilitude, of the moral aims of poetry, and of decorum only rarely dealt with questions of artistic coherence; the medieval epic spirit was not in favour of dramatic structuralness either—on the other hand it was strong enough to prevent the popular playwrights from observing the classical unities (the Italian controversy over the unity of "Orlando Furioso" is here mentioned as a sign that even the critics' attitude was coloured by their sympathy with medieval variety of plot [cf. pp. 265 ff]). So the dramatists' problem—as the author sees it—was the achievement of dramatic unity out of the variety which the period was so fond of. Taking this viewpoint the book more and more turns towards aesthetic evaluation. To enumerate all its results would be beyond the scope of this review.

Professor Doran's findings are stimulating and testify to an intimate knowledge of 16th and early 17th-century drama. Her judgment is sober and refrains from rigidity. As she does not want to explain creative drama through historical facts, there is a welcome balance between the first and the second part of her work. A number of shrewd comments on character and fable in Elizabethan drama especially deserve mentioning (cf. Chapters 9-11). The tendency to depict characters as types was enforced by the critics' notion of truth to "nature" and of decorum, by the morality tradition, Plautus and

Terence, and by the Renaissance psychology of the humours as well. Nevertheless it may have been the humour theory which helped Elizabethan dramatists in creating more and more individualized characters on the stage—whilst on the other hand lack of any formal theory of individuality, the audience's and the dramatist's willingness to accept a story for its own sake, and interest in the single scene might frequently bring about incoherence of character motivation. The soliloquy and the aside were conventions to bridge the gap between character and story, but one would like to add that very often a seeming incoherence is really an expression of man's dual nature or is made up for by the subtle means of iterative imagery, etc. Is not above all Shakespeare's drama poetic drama where not only character and plot establish the illusion of a coherent whole?

Another stimulating chapter is that on fable in Elizabethan drama. Structural unity was here slowly achieved by the dominating single figure, the focusing of the play on a problem of moral choice, the structural use of setting and "the unity of tone and feeling" (p. 290) as in "1 Henry IV." The book thus makes it convincingly clear that the dramatists—especially of course Shakespeare—achieved order and coherence in response to the general taste of the time, although not in the critics' way (cf. the observations on how the "moral idea" theory was transmuted into a dramatically coherent, non-static depiction of man's state in society and the universe [pp. 349 ff.]).

A comprehensive study like this is bound to have minor debatable points. To mention them does not diminish the merits of this book; yet it may point to a methodological problem. Can Richard's soliloquy ("Richard III," V, 3, 178 ff.) justly be considered as "artificial" and contrasted with the more "natural" self-examinations of Claudius and Macbeth (pp. 255 and 316)? Is—in spite of Goethe!—the "comic relief" in "Romeo and Juliet" really in bad taste (p. 292)? Are there signs of structural weakness worth mentioning in "Richard III" (p. 298), and do the two tenets of Tudor political theory in "Richard II"—that of divine right and that of *de facto* power—actually operate to the detriment of the play's structure (p. 320)? Questions like these could only be solved through exact textual interpretation: not only of the play in question, but also of scene-types, speech-forms, forms of dialogue and traditions of imagery. Professor Doran states that a detailed examination of stylistic means is outside the scope of her book (p. 293). But one nevertheless wonders if this clearcut and systematic study might not have gained by a more

detailed interpretation of individual plays or parts of them. The book developed out of the prolegomena to a work on Shakespeare's dramatic structure. This is a welcome promise; one is looking forward to Professor Doran's new book.

Goettingen

E. T. SEHRT

Charles Tyler Prouty, "The Contention" and Shakespeare's "2 Henry VI" (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1954. ix + 157 pp. \$4.00). PROFESSOR Prouty sets out to overturn the modern school which sees in the *Contention* a bad Quarto, put together probably by memorial reconstruction. Admittedly this is a perplexingly entangled problem, for which nobody has found a solution that is completely satisfactory. Professor Prouty does not believe that the Quarto text is 'per se a bad text'—whatever *per se* may mean. He thinks with Feuillerat that two hands may be discerned in the play and that the Folio text is a revision of the Qo.

Dr. Prouty says that he proposes 'to examine as fully as possible all the evidence which in any way has to do with the textual relationship of the *First Part of The Contention* and *2 Henry VI*' (p. 120). This he has not done. His examination is not full. It deals with a few points here and there, leaving the reader ignorant of the mass of evidence he ignores. To begin with, he makes no close examination of the text of the Qo in order to define the copy from which it was set up. He ignores, for instance, the evidence of the spellings in the Qo. The difference between Fo and Qo is clear. The Qo is full of 'phonetic' spellings that reproduce pronunciation. From this point of view it is valuable for the philologist. It also contains many illiterate spellings that are sheer blunders. The Fo shows of course the usual conventional spelling of literature at that time. To take a few examples out of many. I give the Fo spelling in brackets. 'Phonetic' spellings. Bewford (Beauford), Eyden (Iden), Vavvse, Vawse (Vaux), sypris tree (Cypresse tree), cearies (Ceres). Illiterate spellings. Exet (Exit), and Exet omnes, bus mine cue (Basimecu), Sancta Maiesta (Sancta Maiestas), Elyzian (Elizium), Ile haue an Irish (Fo. Iris) that shall finde thee out. One could adduce very many more. The first thing to establish then is the extreme likelihood that some half-educated ignoramus took down the copy for the Qo by ear, while the copy for the Fo, so far as spellings go, might well

have been in the handwriting of the dramatist himself. There are indeed one or two passages in the Qo which are close to Fo in spelling, but that is so in most bad Qos. The general run of the spellings in the Qo proves that it is not a good Qo—per se or not per se. It must be a very bad Qo.

Furthermore the Qo is full of passages that make nonsense and that are only to be understood if we refer to Fo. They may well afford evidence of memorial reconstruction. Dr. Prouty discusses a few of these passages, such as can be twisted or forced to conform with his theory. He ignores most of them and of course he ignores those which his theory cannot explain.

Let us take V.1.148-196 of *2 Henry VI*. Here the Qo has:

| | |
|--|---------------|
| <i>Cliff.</i> Are these thy beares? wee le bayte them soone, | 1. 148 in Fo. |
| Dispight of thee and all the friends thou hast. | 1. 149 in Fo. |
| <i>War.</i> You had best go dreame againe. | 1. 196 in Fo. |

Dreame againe is unintelligible, there has been no dreaming in Qo. The Fo shows that the Qo has dropped more than forty lines.

| | |
|--|--------|
| <i>Yorke.</i> I am resolu'd for death and dignitie. | 1.194 |
| <i>Old Clif.</i> The first I warrant thee, if dreames proue true | 1.195 |
| <i>War.</i> You were best to go to bed, and dreame againe, . . . | 1. 196 |

The most significant of such passages is the genealogy at the beginning of II.ii. The Qo makes Edmund of Langley (error for Edmund Langly) the second son of Edward III, when in fact he was the fifth. It makes Roger Mortemor, Earle of March, the fifth son, when he was not a son at all but a grandson. Besides it gets Edward III's granddaughters all mixed up. The usual explanation of this is that it is the natural result of memorial reconstruction. Not so Dr. Prouty. He has three explanations. First he tries to reconstruct the original copy by making up a passage from Grafton in execrable verse, or equally execrable prose, it is hard to say what he has in mind. Then he asks us to look at his invention and see from it how easy it would be for the compositor to drop lines and so make mistakes. I must apologize for mentioning anything so puerile, but it is really in the book. Other errors he says are due to interlineations or to scraps of paper pasted over the text. But interlineations represent afterthoughts intended to improve the passage. This genealogy needs no afterthought. The poet would be obliged to copy it whole as he found it. To omit any links would ruin his argument. Finally Dr. Prouty says the Qo's mistakes about the second and fifth sons of

Edward III may be explained as careless mistakes in the copy. The Fo gives the only possible statement about the fifth son. Whatever theory one holds on the subject, this is the statement the scribe would have before him: The fift, was Edmond Langley, Duke of Yorke. Dr. Prouty thinks a careless scribe changed this to: The fifth was Roger Mortemor, Earle of March.

Enough is enough. It is sheer waste of time to pursue the subject further. We shall probably never know what process produced the *Contention*. But the beginning of wisdom about it is to recognize that it is a bad quarto. Any arguments based on its being a good quarto must be invalid.

University of San Francisco

HEREWARD T. PRICE

Patrick Cruttwell, *The Shakespearean Moment and Its Place in the Poetry of the 17th Century* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1955. 262 pp. \$3.75)

THE subject of this book is the poetry of John Donne as an expression of social, spiritual, and intellectual attitudes peculiar to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This poetry was sensuous, personal (but inclusive), and imbued with the tragic sense. The attitudes it expressed were hierarchical, medieval (but Anglo-catholic), and disillusioned. The earlier Spenserian poetry was mellifluous and the later Miltonic poetry was rhetorical, whereas metaphysical poetry was great. Its splendid bloom was frost-killed by scientific rationalism, Puritanism, and neo-classicism.

The reviewer will quote Shakespeare, who is all too rarely quoted by Mr. Cruttwell:

I do not strain at the position,
It is familiar, but at the author's drift. . . .

The chapter called "The Poetry of the Shakespearean Moment" devotes twenty-two pages to Donne and twelve to Shakespeare, with a considerable portion of the latter developing the peculiar thesis that the heroines of the late romances resemble the Miss Elizabeth Drury of the *Anniversarie* poems. The chapter called "The Society of the Shakespearean Moment" deals with the magnificence and literary patronage of the nobility. The chapter called "The Beginnings of Rationalism" consists mainly of a comparison of the poetry of John Donne and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. If one wishes to hear any-

thing of the society whose pennies built the Globe, or of the rationalistic strain in Shakespeare, he must seek elsewhere.

Although he has inserted occasional words of qualification, Mr. Cruttwell's discourse assumes in general that Shakespeare was a metaphysical poet whose merits were identical with those of Donne. The fallacy is obvious. Shakespeare's poetry was affected but not conditioned by certain forces that conditioned the poetry of Donne, just as it was affected but not conditioned by quite dissimilar forces—those for instance that conditioned the writing of Dekker, or Heywood, or John Fletcher. The diversity of forces in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was Shakespeare's good fortune, and his capacity to be affected by so many of them his great distinction. It is one of the things we mean when we speak of his universality. To trade upon this universality for the purpose of aggrandizing one's favorite contemporary poet is scarcely serviceable to the truth, and one would suppose that the star of John Donne at least is now sufficiently ascendant that his merits could be discussed without benefit of name-dropping.

The most commendable quality of Mr. Cruttwell's book is its tone. It makes no new contribution to literary history but it contains some good literary conversation, and it is among the very few testaments of Anglo-catholic, hierarchical, metaphysical faith to be marked by even a modicum of urbanity and good humor. Although the author seems to care for only one kind of poetry, and discusses all other kinds for the purpose of indicating their inferiority, he does not view them as a personal affront.

Harvard University

ALFRED HARBAGE

John Donne, *Poèmes Choisis*. Tr., intro. et notes, Pierre Legouis (Paris: Aubier [Collection Bilingue des Classiques Etrangères], 1955. 224 pp. 540 fr.). ALTHOUGH individual poems of Donne have been turned into French verse or prose, Professor Legouis is the first to attempt the translation of a considerable and representative body of the poet's works. Most of the "Songs and Sonnets," a good selection of the "Satires," "Elegies," "Letters," "Divine Poems," and "The Second Anniversary" have been turned into an irregular line by line rendering, that is, in general, singularly faithful to the original. Professor Legouis has realized, as few translators do, that

poetry cannot be translated, and that it is shockingly absurd to attempt verse renderings. His volume, therefore, is really an aid to those who can almost read Donne in the original, and it should be vastly helpful to Frenchmen who want to know this English poet better, but who are baffled at times by his difficult syntax or the special meanings that he gives to words and phrases. To orient his readers, Professor Legouis has provided a good prefatory essay and selected notes. I can only wish that more English translators from the French would follow his admirable principles.

D. C. ALLEN

J. Milton French, *The Life Records of John Milton*, Vol. III (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1954. 470 pp. \$7.50). WITH the publication of this third volume, Professor French has passed the halfway mark in his collection of the Life Records of John Milton. By this time scholars are generally agreed that the work is thorough and accurate, the method is sound, and the results are valuable for an understanding of Milton's writings as well as of his life. Surely this set will stand near the Columbia edition of the *Works* and Masson's *Life* as one of the great contributions to the understanding of the poet.

The time covered by the present volume runs from March 4, 1651, through December, 1654. Politically his most active years, this period also offers more extensive material than that in either of the previous volumes. It seems too that there is less material of a dubious value than in the first two. The entry (p. 307) suggesting that Prynne mentioned Milton in a pamphlet (completely discredited in the editor's subsequent note), and the attribution to Milton (p. 373) of some pamphlet panegyrics to Cromwell (accepted by no modern student) are the only quotations which in my opinion should be either omitted or relegated to an appendix. Yet it is comforting to know that the Records are as complete as competent scholarship can make them.

The first half of this middle decade of the century, then, offers a rich collection of facts for the understanding of Milton's life. Throughout these years, Milton is revealed as intensely active in his work for the Commonwealth. The volume opens with the general excitement caused by the publication of his first *Defensio* in 1651. It continues with a good deal of wearisome litigation with his Powell in-laws. The long-drawn-out plea of Hermann Mylius for the Oldenburgh safe-

guard then occupies many pages. It is both entertaining and enlightening as to the slowness of such political maneuvering, since Mylius is a sympathetic if impatient observer of life. Milton's own poor health is prominent throughout these proceedings—as well as his politeness and cordiality under great personal difficulties: during this time his personal life was shadowed by the deaths of his wife and only son, and by complete blindness. A good deal of the material relating to Mylius and his plea has not been published prior to this volume—indeed, I believe that this volume includes more unpublished information than either previous one. In fairness, however, it must be added that this additional material will not change our ideas about Milton's life at this time.

In this volume too we see Milton's continuing notoriety as a supporter of the cause of divorce ten years and more after the publication of the first of his pamphlets on the subject. Scandal evidently died hard in those days too. And he builds up an additional figure of himself in the public eye by his attacks on Salmasius and by his exploitation of the More-Pontia relationship—a bit of effective propaganda which enjoyed greater notoriety and acclaim than it can ever achieve today. He continues his public course in the *Defensio Secunda*, also published in the years covered by this volume. Milton indeed “steered right onward” after 1651, according to the Life Records, without any evident alteration of any of his beliefs in the direction of meek conformity.

One of the pleasures of this volume, as of its predecessors, is the sane middle ground taken by its author. Professor French has no critical or social or moral ax to grind (except, of course, his deep interest in what Milton really did and what people said of him). Accordingly, he clearly estimates the validity of each piece of evidence whenever there is any doubt, and, without seeming unduly skeptical, suggests a reasonable and objective appraisal of moot or disputed details—such as, for instance, crop up in the early biographies. It is a wholesome piece of work which Professor French is so carefully compiling; the new generation of students of Milton will be thankful for what he has done.

Wofford College

WILLIAM B. HUNTER, JR.

Joan Evans, *John Ruskin* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1954. 447 pp. \$4.25).

DESPITE important additions to our knowledge of the subject, it is questionable whether the studies of John Ruskin published in recent years have served his memory so well as the substantial volumes written by Collingwood and Cook a half-century ago. Now, however, the balance has been redressed by Joan Evans in the latest of a long line of biographies. With all the relevant material at her disposal (including the diaries which she and J. H. Whitehouse are engaged in editing) and with full awareness of the psychological implications of the painful story, Dr. Evans has written what is, all things considered, the most authoritative life of this great literary figure. Everything that students of the Victorian era need to know about Ruskin is here, presented with judicial sobriety. To exhaustive scholarship, furthermore, the author has wedded the qualities of unflinching tact and sensitivity.

Of the impressions left on the sympathetic reader perhaps the foremost is sadness over the waste of so much intelligence and energy, over the misdirection or misapplication of so many splendid talents. Ruskin emerges more clearly than ever before as the victim of his parents and friends and of the environment which they so lovingly created for him. At one pole of his life was the Evangelical straitness of life at Denmark Hill; at the other those endlessly reiterated flights to the Continent, "chaperoned" parodies of the Grand Tour extended into middle life. In contrast to John Stuart Mill, Ruskin was encouraged to cultivate his feelings at the expense of all systematic knowledge, so that he seems from the first to have been destined to the fate reserved for naïf idealists who are unable to impose any meaningful pattern on their experience. Although he stood to one side of most of the main currents of ideas in his age, Ruskin yet allowed his few true insights to be dissipated by the compulsive need of the Victorian writer to express himself on any and all subjects of contemporary interest. Voluminous as were his writings, they represent a mere tithe of the projects on which he frittered away his productive years.

Dr. Evans scrupulously notes Ruskin's impulsive startings and stoppings, his perpetual inconsistencies and vacillations of intent; but her subject's very inability to achieve self-knowledge leaves him in the end a somewhat enigmatic figure. As was to be expected from one of the most eminent of art historians, the author provides the best existing account of the genesis and self-cultivation of those artistic sensibilities which made Ruskin the arbiter of Victorian taste. Yet

what, after all, was this beauty to the service of which he dedicated himself with such intensity? How are we to isolate a core of aesthetic validity in the perceptions of one who was capable of an indiscriminating enthusiasm for both Titian and Burne-Jones, or who formed with such pride the motley collection that memorializes him at Meersbrook Park? Until some critic succeeds in tracing an ordering and integrating principle through the five volumes of *Modern Painters*, as well as in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and *The Stones of Venice*, we must conclude with Dr. Evans that: "Ruskin's posthumous productivity lay rather in the range of taste and of ideas than in that of style or system."

Less satisfactory is the author's treatment of Ruskin's economic theorizing. With insufficient allowance for the very considerable influence of his social preachments, Dr. Evans sometimes tends to give the rather unfortunate impression that Ruskin's assumption of the Carlylean prophetic mantle forecast his eventual madness. Ruskin himself would certainly have drawn no sharp distinction between his love for beautiful objects and his concern for the living conditions which made the production of such objects possible. If by subsequent standards he seems to have deviated from sound principles in his economics as well as in his aesthetics, it must still be admitted that his thinking exhibits to a remarkable degree an organic process of development whereby each stage points to that which was to follow. The strengths of the art critic are reflected in whatever remains permanently valuable of the social criticism, just as the manifest deficiencies in the early work have their counterpart in *Unto This Last* and *Fors Clavigera*.

This book is so admirable as a record of Ruskin's life that one may be permitted to regret that Dr. Evans confined herself so rigorously to fulfilling the biographer's function. The brief but provocative conclusion to her volume indicates that she is not only fully aware of the problems raised by the preceding narrative, but also that she has anticipated and is ready to supply tentative answers to a good many of the questions that the thoughtful reader is disposed to ask. Yet these questions remain unanswered in any definitive sense. For Dr. Evans' study, good as it is, does not undertake to present Ruskin within the perspective of his age. The subject appears in the round, but as an isolated figure rather than in context. We want, for example, to know more about the intellectual influences which shaped his mind throughout the formative years. We want to have a clearer

sense of his relationship with his great contemporaries, and with the conflicting currents of ideas by which he was beset. In particular, we want a fuller examination of the nature of his contributions to those phenomena with which his name is usually associated: the Gothic revival, the pre-Raphaelite movement, and the rise of Socialism. All this is merely to say that we are still awaiting a definition of the status of the Victorian man of letters, a class of which Ruskin remains in many ways the most representative example. For the Victorians as (in a very different way, to be sure) for the twentieth century the ultimate significance of Ruskin's achievement may be found to reside in the realm of symbolic values.

Princeton University

E. D. H. JOHNSON

Emily Dickinson, *Poèmes*, tr. Jean Simon (Paris: Pierre Seghers, 1954. 80 pp.). THIS attractive little volume contains fifty poems by Emily Dickinson, translated into French by Professor Simon with the original English text given on facing pages. It goes without saying that this poet, with her special vocabulary and idiosyncratic phrasing, presents a particularly formidable task to the translator. But Simon has made a brave try, and his renderings are among the most faithful now available to the French reader. He has made a fresh reading of the corpus of her poetry rather than merely reproducing the anthologized favorites, and has shown tact and taste in his selections. He wisely passed by the more complex and obscure poems and achieved his best successes in the lighter pieces. But there is considerable variety in this volume, which offers to a growing European audience the largest body of Dickinson's poems so far published in a continental language. The book opens with a concise biographical sketch and closes with a brief bibliography.

The Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES ANDERSON

Percy Matenko, *Ludwig Tieck and America* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1954. xi + 120 pp. \$3.50, paper; \$4.00, cloth. Univ. of North Carolina Studies in Germanic Languages and Literature, 12). IN successive chapters Professor Matenko takes up the following aspects of Tieck's relation to America up to 1900: I. Ameri-

can visitors to Tieck; II. Tieck's reception in American magazines and books; III. American translations of Tieck; IV and V. Tieck's influence on American authors; VI. Tieck's attitude toward America. A brief "Conclusion," summarizing his findings, is followed by a list of the American books in Tieck's library, a bibliography of 9 pages, and a name index.

The compilation is impressive, but the treatment falls short of what one would expect of a Tieck student of Professor Matenko's experience (he is the editor and coeditor of three separate collections of Tieck's letters). For the evidence is insufficiently evaluated, what is significant insufficiently distinguished from what is not. All too often the interesting fact is left to shift for itself, buried in material which belongs in footnotes if anywhere. The discussion of Charles Follen's *Deutsches Lesebuch für Anfänger*, for instance, informs us about the change in pagination from one edition to another (data repeated almost verbatim in the Bibliography), but says nothing about the significance of the fact that after Follen's death another editor of the *Lesebuch* dropped all of Tieck's prose though retaining the poetry. Or, Longfellow's advice to a prospective translator of German stories—to try Zschokke or Hoffmann, "In fine, almost any thing but Tieck"—evokes merely the following remark: "The pertinent excerpts of these two letters which were sent me by Professor Dana, were checked by him against the original manuscript and preserve their (sic) spelling and punctuation" (p. 59). This kind of procedure gives a somewhat hollow ring to the statement in the preface that, in order to spare the reader, footnotes have been dispensed with. In point of fact, Chapters II and III are not much more than bibliography of American Tieck items, casually descriptive. Nor are the two chapters dealing with Tieck's influence on American authors much more satisfactory. They show that a number of Americans read some Tieck; sometimes they assert direct influence, sometimes they negate the assertion by subsequent qualifications. In Chapter IV: "There is some question as to whether Irving actually drew his model for the framed story from Tieck" (p. 51). In the "Conclusion": Irving "was indebted to Tieck for the device of the framed tale in his *Tales of a Traveller*, the technique used by Tieck in his *Phantasmus* (although Irving had used this technique in *Bracebridge Hall* . . .)" (p. 95). Finally in the same paragraph: "Irving absorbed from Tieck the enthusiasm of the German romanticists for the Spanish past. Tieck's influence helped to confirm the tendencies which Irving

already possessed and had developed independently." And the influence of Tieck on other Americans is treated in a similar vein.

Greater familiarity with Irving would have shown that whatever Tieck may have confirmed was as nothing to Irving's boyhood enthusiasm for the Spanish chronicles. But a certain lack of familiarity with American literary history is not the only source of trouble. Large parts of this monograph look like notes in *négligé*, hastily dispatched—unhouselled, unaneled. Hence pointless repetitions, careless writing (ranging from problems of coherence to faulty reference of pronouns). In a word, the study is not finished. Still, the material is there, and one may hope that what Professor Matenko has so diligently assembled will invite a real treatment, for, as he says, such a study should throw light on the American reception of German romantic literature as a whole.

University of Oregon

CHRISTOF WEGELIN

Edwin S. Fussell, *Edwin Arlington Robinson: The Literary Background of a Traditional Poet* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1954. x + 211 pp. \$3.50). MR. Fussell traces the complex influences which Robinson's reading had on his poetry. From all available sources he determines what reading interested Robinson and then examines the poetry to discover how Robinson was indebted to that reading. A concluding chapter contends that Robinson and Eliot, though not in sympathy, both felt the necessity of relating their work to their literary heritage.

In the two longest chapters American and English writers are discussed chronologically in an effort to show the poet's response to his forerunners "in specific relation to the dynamics of literary history." The result is a dubious mixture of minor and major influences that might have been clearer if arranged in order of increasing importance—especially since (with the exception of Shakespeare and Milton) Robinson's interest was limited mostly to Romantic and Victorian writers virtually contemporary.

Of Americans the author finds that Poe, Emerson, and Longfellow were most congenial to Robinson: Poe for his emphasis on technique and his taste for "Gothic horror"; Emerson for his interest in inspiration and spontaneity, transcendental abstractions, and a religious middle course; Longfellow for his tendency to moralize, interest in

classical meters, and skill with the sonnet. Mr. Fussell also discusses Robinson's reaction to Thoreau, Hawthorne, Whitman, and James. He devotes a somewhat disproportionate four pages to parallels between "Isaac and Archibald" and Bryant's "The Old Man's Counsel."

The author says that in English literature Robinson's love of richly worded phrases made him akin to Shakespeare and that he absorbed from Milton a style marked by condensations, puns, and ambiguities. From Wordsworth came a fellow feeling for moral idealism and a determination to keep rhetoric simple. The author refutes the thesis offered originally by Hoyt H. Hudson and later supported in part by Yvor Winters that Robinson was greatly indebted to Praed. Willing to admit a few minor parallels, yet for what he feels is more important—theme, attitude, tone—he finds little common ground.

Among the Victorians, Tennyson, Browning, and Arnold were an influence for good: Tennyson for the tragedy and optimism of *In Memoriam* and for interest in the Arthurian legends; Browning for the dramatic monologue, humor and generosity of spirit, and psychological penetration; Arnold for "high seriousness" and stoicism. Swinburne he copied early but soon outgrew. Hardy impressed him by his "humanity, universality, variety, comedy, and pastoralism," but not by his view of a brutish and vengeful God. Kipling interested Robinson because of a determination to employ colloquial language. Robinson was struck by Housman's stoic attitude, delimited affirmations, seeming artlessness, and clarity.

Robinson read and absorbed many of the French and Russian naturalists. With the Germans and with Dante he was not deeply involved. In Ibsen, however, he found skill in plot building, an unswerving facing of problems of ethics and society, dramatic dialogue, unity, and intrinsic symbolism. From Greek and Latin literature Robinson gained support for his own leanings toward moderation, formality, and unity, his determination to accept what limitations self-knowledge uncovered, his interest in retribution and in the effects of society of human action.

The rhythms and language of the King James version of the Bible appear everywhere in Robinson's poetry. Even in poems that use ancient Greek characters ("Cassandra") there is frequent Biblical diction and allusion. Robinson did not hesitate to invent relationships between characters ("Nicodemus"), start a narrative where the Bible stopped ("Lazarus"), or combine materials from various parts of the Bible ("The Three Taverns"). But almost without

exception (possibly "The Prodigal Son" is a little banal) Robinson showed a thorough acquaintance with Biblical materials.

A few oversights in proofreading mar this otherwise handsome volume. On page 74 "book" is spelled "bok." The word *hubris* is italicized on page 168, but is not on page 149. Furthermore, though Mr. Fussell must deal in conjecture, such phrases as "it is almost certainly" and "no doubt" recur so frequently that the reader is tempted to question the author's faith in his own conclusions. Nevertheless, skillful summaries and transitions lead the reader easily along. The index provides a useful list of authors whom Robinson read. Despite some stylistic idiosyncrasies (frequent use of the past progressive tense—e. g., pages 28, 77, 113, 156—and a few somewhat vague comparisons—e. g., pages 84, 132, 176), the book is quite readable. It is built on often penetrating insight and proffers a rich addition to our knowledge of Robinson.

Purdue University

RICHARD CROWDER

Richard E. Haymaker, *From Pampas to Hedgerows and Downs: A Study of W. H. Hudson (New York: Bookman Associates, 1954. 398 pp. \$5.00)*. MR. Haymaker is deeply saturated in the work of Hudson and seems to be familiar with practically everything that has been written about his subject. He understands very well what is already understood. The book may confidently be recommended to the many members of the cultivated reading public for whom Hudson is little more than a name; it will give them accurate and attractive previews of what they may expect to find in him. Those whose more intimate acquaintance with Hudson is a thing of far away and long ago will be reminded of the curiously mingled flavors of the enjoyment he once gave them, and may perhaps be prompted to renew the experience at first hand. As a knowledgeable and enthusiastic mediator between the scholarly expert and the intelligent nonprofessional reader Mr. Haymaker deserves thanks and praise.

His book is not, however, an important contribution to scholarship. It tells us nothing about Hudson's life that is not already known. It presents the familiar inconsistencies of his mysterious personality without helping to explain them. As commentary on the intrinsic literary qualities of his writings it is sound enough but not strikingly original or penetrating: it reflects, but does not enlarge, our experience of him.

As interpretation of Hudson's philosophy it faithfully reports the surface phenomena but becomes the more naive the deeper it delves into the problems which they raise.

The genuine though modest merits of the book are hard to get at because in Mr. Haymaker's thinking the centrifugal force seems much stronger than the centripetal. Everything reminds him of something else. There is such a superabundance of quotation and paraphrase concerning Hudson's dealings with flowers and insects and birds that the governing ideas are smothered rather than illustrated. The author's hand is not firm enough to guide us through the descriptive clutter toward fruitful generalizations. There is a burdensome amount of repetition, overlapping, circling back and forth. Not more than one or two chapters are clearly defined structural units; the main body of the book is a flux of armadillos, grasshoppers, tree-pipits, rock-pipits, meadow-pipits. One would much prefer to read Hudson for oneself. It is significant that the best chapter should be the one on "Novels and Tales," where the author, precisely because he is much less interested in the fiction than in the nature-essays, is less tempted to flood his sensible judgments with the entire contents of his notebook.

Trite diction is so common in these pages as to suggest that the author heartily likes such stereotypes as "a new luminary swinging in the literary firmament" (p. 92). A single sentence includes "a soul poetically sensitive to many of the beauties of nature . . . impassioned outbursts . . . no falling off in artistry . . . ranks as one of his major achievements" (p. 127). A kindred habit is that of lugging in shopworn literary allusions. Little birds, needless to say, are "smale fowles" (p. 249), and the houses of the rich are "the palatial red-brick pleasure domes of the mighty Kubla Khans of the business world" (p. 292). Hudson, we are told, was a poor man until the success of *Green Mansions*; "Yet adversity, like a toad, ugly and venomous, wore a precious jewel in its head, for it brought with it some important compensations" (p. 39). Further evidence of an almost embarrassing breadth of culture appears in the author's fondness for glancing away from Hudson to other writers whose names are usually grouped in tight clusters of three, such as Rousseau, Keats, [Thomas] Wolfe (p. 140); Darwin, Spencer, Santayana (p. 142); Coleridge, Jefferies, Baudelaire (p. 144); Belloc, Beebe, Tomlinson (p. 174); Crabbe, T. F. Powys, O'Flaherty (p. 186); Freud, Toynbee, Dewey (p. 314). Whatever similarities may relate Hudson to these triads, and the members of these sometimes strangely assorted triads

to one another, are not fruitfully analyzed. The mannerism merely aggravates the centrifugal trend of the study.

Mr. Haymaker's desire to instruct the reader transcends the limits of his subject. From him we may learn that "sophistication is a great destroyer of the sense of the wonder of the world, which is one of our most precious possessions" (pp. 24-25); and that "any disregard for the laws of Nature . . . invites disaster" (p. 314). The author is favorable to "what we call spirituality, the most beautiful offshoot of the mind" (p. 184); and he is prepared to defend against all comers the thesis that "The brain and the heart are indeed both invaluable in the experiencing of life, and the wise man is he who keeps them in equipoise" (p. 348). In *pensées* of this type *From Pampas to Hedgerows and Downs* is oppressively rich.

Hunter College

HOXIE N. FAIRCHILD

Donald Davie, *Purity of Diction in English Verse* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1953. 211 pp.). MR. Davie in this "attempt to arrive at the principles underlying purity of poetic diction in English" addresses himself primarily to the would-be poet of today, with the hope that his book may "help some practicing poet to a poetry of urbane and momentous statement." Momentous statement, one gathers, is expressed in a diction which is "central," which "expresses the feeling of the capital, not the provinces . . . a valuable urbanity, a civilized moderation and elegance . . . the effect attainable, as I think, by Goldsmith, and not by Shakespeare" (pp. 26-27). Like T. S. Eliot in some of his critical writings, Mr. Davie is concerned primarily with poets who are good, rather than with those who are great; and he sets out to show how the work of these "good" poets, poets like Johnson, Goldsmith, and Cowper, has "the virtues of good prose and yet is good poetry" in that such poets possess both chastity of diction and the "metaphorical richness and force we associate with poetry of quite another sort" (p. 28).

Again and again, we find Mr. Davie juxtaposing *great* and *good*. That which is good is written in pure diction; great poets, like Chaucer, Milton, and Pope, cannot be said to employ a diction at all; rather, they create styles; "and it is a sort of historical accident that later poets should have drawn upon their styles to make up a poetic diction." But no "good" poet has taken over completely a

diction derived from the style of a previous poet. Rather, the good poet writes in a selection of the language commonly used.

When the Industrial Revolution transformed English society, poets could no longer take as their guide the "good sense"—in diction as in other matters of taste—of a leisured aristocracy, i. e., of those who had previously been thought the "best people." *Le bourgeois gentil-homme*, with the money to command, feared and hated the best just as his modern counterpart does. Conversation deteriorated, elegance and sense gave way on the one hand to the tortured precision of the schoolmaster, and on the other to Romantic excess. Deprived of a standard based upon the cultivated "common use" of their readers, poets came to have small regard for chastity and purity of diction. Consequently, no nineteenth-century poet since Wordsworth (and he principally in "The White Doe of Rylstone") has "purified the language of the tribe," though some, like Hopkins, have enriched it.

The style of the Augustans and their eighteenth-century successors, "centrally situated between speech usage and literary usage" as it was, has much to commend it—greater clarity and urbanity are concomitant with its eschewing of all kinds of extravagance. It is possible to regard as artistic virtues, as Mr. Davie does, those very qualities which, in a Romantic tradition surviving to our own day, are frequently regarded as vices—for instance, generalization and circumlocution.

In the second part of his book, Mr. Davie compares the style whose virtues he so admirably expounds with the poetic idioms of nineteenth-century writers—Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley ("the only English Romantic poet with the birth and breeding of a gentleman, and that cannot be irrelevant"), Hopkins, and Landor. The conclusion is inescapable, though Mr. Davie does not make it in so many words: the amorphousness and the obscurity of much of the poetry of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries results from its abandonment of the orderliness of prose, its glorification of the word at the expense of the syntax.

Purity of Diction in English Verse is a brilliant critical study of (and in a sense an apologia for) a poetic style based upon the chastity of diction—that is, a judicious selection of the language of common cultivated use—and the close-knit sense of good prose. The book is not milk for babes, but it is well worth the reading for anyone professionally concerned with poetry and its nature.

University of Florida

THOMAS PYLES

Alvar Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of Its Use in English* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953. 320 pp. Sw. Kr. 18. Gothenburg Studies in English, 2).

THE thoroughness which the author of this study brings to his work becomes apparent as one turns the first pages of the book, and the impression of his industry remains as one leafs through the bibliography. For in assembling the facts on which to base his conclusions about the origin of auxiliary *do*, the subject of Part I (pp. 15-148), Ellegård has read "a considerable portion of the edited ME literature before Chaucer, and a fair number of later texts." He is also well informed on the scholarship of his topic. It is to be expected, then, that each of the five theories hitherto advanced to explain the origin of auxiliary *do* is subjected to detailed analysis and that the material gleaned from numerous texts is carefully tabulated and interpreted. The author's conclusions, briefly, are as follows: Causative *do*, though uncommon, was not unknown in OE, and from it auxiliary *do* arose in the 13th century in the ME dialect of the Southwest. The change in meaning involved was facilitated by the fact that in this area at this time *make* and *let* were the usual causatives and that causative *do*, which was relatively rare, was often found in positions where auxiliary *do* was a possible interpretation. (That this "equivocal" *do* had a precise parallel in French was a likely added influence.) Used at first in poetry, as an aid in riming, auxiliary *do* spread from verse to prose, and from the Southwest to the East and, finally, to the North.

In Part II (pp. 151-207), Ellegård traces the development of auxiliary *do* from the 15th century to about 1700. Through graphs and tables, which also appear in Part I, he summarizes his findings in a scientifically exact way, and among the significant conclusions that he reaches are these: In the late 15th century auxiliary *do* was a mark of a high-flown, pedantic style, and in the early 16th century it was characteristic of learned and "literary" writing. The peak of its usage was reached about 1550. During the Elizabethan Age it continued to be essentially a stylistic device in the written language, but it became functional in the colloquial language, where it occurred chiefly in negative statements and questions. At no time after 1400, in fact, has auxiliary *do* been more common in affirmative than in negative and interrogative expressions.

Part III (pp. 213-320) is made up of references and bibliographical information. The texts used to support the author's conclusions in

Part I are listed chronologically, with specific references to and descriptions of the occurrences of *do*. There follow similar references for the material used in Part II. Finally, there is an alphabetical list of the 379 texts employed (from the *Vespasian Psalter* to Swift), and a bibliography of secondary sources.

It would be difficult to find serious faults in the evidence here brought together and the conclusions drawn from it; indeed, there is little doubt that this study will supersede earlier investigations of the topic. One might question, though, the assurance with which Ellegård refers to auxiliary *do* as nowadays used "almost exclusively in negative sentences and questions." I have observed that its use in affirmative statements for emphatic purposes is by no means infrequent, and some evidence in support of my opinion, from both American and British English, may be found in C. C. Fries' *American English Grammar* (New York, 1940), pp. 146-49, and R. W. Zandvoort's "On the Relative Frequency of the Form and Functions of *To Do*" (*ES*, xxiv [1942], 1-16). At any rate, without a careful examination of texts since 1700, Ellegård is guilty of those shortcomings that he condemns in earlier students of his subject. It may be no more than quibbling to point out that some of the editions he uses are not standard—Cardale's text of the Alfredian Boethius, for instance, is hardly preferable to Sedgefield's—or even to note the unfortunate connotation of *regulation* in the title of a book on language; but surely such a remark as the following can only be lamented: "Practically the whole of Middle English literature consists of translations and adaptations, mainly from the French, and to a less extent from Latin." I wonder, too, if the author's sanguine hopes about the value of the material in Part III to other scholars will be realized; perhaps not, and so it, along with the rest of the book, could profitably have been shortened. But in the end there can only be gratitude for this addition to our knowledge of a small aspect of the English language, and the hope that Ellegård will further explore some of the semantic and syntactic problems that are here merely touched on.

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HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF

Walter Baetke, ed., *Hrafnkels saga freysgoða. Mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar* (Halle [Saale]: Max Niemeyer, 1952. vii + 108 pp. Altnordische textbibliothek, Neue Folge, hrsg. von Walter Baetke, Band 1). THIS handy edition of *Hrafnkels saga*

is intended for German University students and interested autodidacts, not for scholars like the *Altnordische Sagabibliothek*, now dead. It follows an abortive series edited by Eugen Mogk where only *Gunnlaugs saga* was published (1926), hence *Neue Folge*.

The text is preceded by a goodsized and well-informed introduction and followed by a few notes, indexes of personal and place names, a fairly thorough glossary, and a map. In the place name index the editor has not noticed that there is a *Laxá* (and *Laxárdalur*) as a tributary to the great *Jökulsá á Dal*.

The editor has taken notice of Nordal's revolutionary criticism of the saga. He considers it as a great work of art from the late thirteenth century rather than a prize specimen of the oral tale, assumed by scholars like Heusler, Liestøl and Finnur Jónsson to have flourished in Iceland up to 1200, and then written down by a scribe from the mouth of a storyteller.

In all this the editor follows the latest and best edition of the saga by Jón Jóhannesson in *Austfirðinga sögur* (*Íslensk Fornrit*, XI, 1950).

The text and the new series are both to be welcomed.

The Johns Hopkins University

STEFÁN EINARSSON

John Winkelman, *Social Criticism in the Early Works of Erich Kästner* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1953. 144 pp. \$2.50. Univ. of Missouri Studies, 25, No. iv). PROFESSOR Winkelman's informative and carefully documented study of the German satirist Erich Kästner will appeal to at least two groups of readers. Those who are primarily interested in the political, economic, social, and moral problems of Germany in the years preceding the coming to power of the National Socialists will gain a deeper understanding of some of the forces which contributed to the collapse of the Weimar Republic. Those readers, on the other hand, who are most of all concerned with Kästner himself will welcome this study as a major attempt to arrive at a clearer comprehension of at least certain portions of Kästner's literary output and of certain aspects of his creative genius. Professor Winkelman does not devote his efforts to Kästner as the sentimental author of charmingly didactic novels who has endeared himself to many American readers, but to "Kästner as an exponent of social criticism, of *Zeitkritik*, holding up the proverbial mirror to his age." And since "his age" was the one in which Weimar disintegrated, Professor Winkelman has, on

the whole, to limit his investigations to those five turbulent years which saw at the same time Kästner's rise to literary fame and the downfall of the Republic: 1928-1932. Fortunately, some of the most important collections of Kästner's satirical verse (*Lärm im Spiegel* and *Gesang zwischen den Stühlen*, for instance) as well as his only novel for grownups, *Fabian: Die Geschichte eines Moralisten*, were published during this period. After the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship, Kästner attended personally the burning of his own books, but he was allowed to publish abroad during the first nine years of the new regime. As far as Kästner's post-Weimar production is concerned, Professor Winkelman refers frequently to *Doktor Erich Kästners lyrische Hausapotheke* (1936) and also to the volume *Der tägliche Kram* (1949), which contains valuable autobiographical information. A letter written by Kästner to Mr. Winkelman serves to round out the biographical picture and to correct certain misconceptions which have found their way into the literature about Kästner. The introduction of Mr. Winkelman's book is devoted to a critical survey of this literature. For the benefit of those readers who do not know German it should also be mentioned that all German quotations are translated in the footnotes.

Kästner's satirical writings mirror and interpret the breakdown of the Weimar Republic. Mr. Winkelman is convinced that the poetic value of Kästner's output cannot be divorced from the truth-value of his critical reporting. Accordingly, it is the chief aim of his book to establish the "veracity and authenticity" of Kästner's indictment by means of "a thorough factual comparison" of Kästner's poetry with what this poetry was about. In three comprehensive chapters which make up the bulk of his book, Mr. Winkelman confronts the image in the mirror with the realities which it purports to mirror; and he succeeds in proving conclusively that Kästner was an accurate and conscientious reporter both of the political, economic, and social scene. But even though Mr. Winkelman's insistence on a close correlation between poetic value and truth-value is absolutely sound, one cannot help wondering whether his definition of the truth-value of poetry as truth to statistical fact isn't at times too narrow even for the kind of poetry with which he is dealing and for the purposes of his own book. Now and then Kästner is in danger of drowning in an ocean of statistical information, but on the whole Mr. Winkelman uses his figures admirably and arrives in the end at a sound and convincing evaluation of the poet's satirical talent. "The point that

should be stressed . . . is that Kästner is a satirist in the deep and true sense of the word, a satirist who wants to help." He is basically a moralist; and we learn that as an exponent of neo-humanistic ethical values, his ideology is rooted in eighteenth-century rationalism and humanism.

Mr. Winkelman knows that his method does not lend itself to an analysis of artistic form. Nevertheless his book also has something to offer to those readers who are more interested in the quality of the poetic reflection than in the actualities which are being reflected. A detailed discussion of *Fabian* in the second chapter is particularly rewarding. Mr. Winkelman would be signally qualified to give us in a companion volume to his present valuable sociological study a discussion of some of the literary aspects of Kästner's poetry.

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ANDREW O. JASZI

J. M. M. Aler, *Inleiding tot de vroege Duitse letterkunde* (The Hague: Servire, 1953. 112 pp.). DR. Aler hat, in der Serie Servire's Encyclopaedie, Afd. Literatuurwetenschap, die ältere deutsche Literatur (Vom Heldenlied bis zum Barock) behandelt, und zwar hat er versucht, die "Werke abzuzeichnen gegen den Hintergrund der sozialen und kulturellen Entwicklung." In einem kleinen Büchlein von 102 Seiten Text ist das keine leichte Aufgabe, und die Beschreibung der literarischen Werke und Strömungen muss bis zum äussersten beschränkt werden, ja, muss dadurch leiden. Das ist auch in Dr. Alers Uebersicht der Fall. Oft sind die literarischen Werke so schematisch behandelt, dass der Laie und der Student, für den dieses Buch bestimmt ist, sich keine deutliche Vorstellung zu machen vermögen. So wird z.B. von Meier Helmbrecht gesagt: "ein lesenswerter Protest gegen das Raubritterverfahren, gesehen vom Standpunkt der Bauern, auch voll realistischer Détails vom Alltagsleben dieser Zeiten." Der ungeschulte Leser erhält damit keinen Begriff vom Werke Werners, während der geschulte eine solche Charakteristik nicht braucht. Schlimmer jedoch ist, dass bei aller Kürze oft apodiktische Formulierungen gegeben werden, wo es sich um diskutierbare Fälle handelt. So wird S. 32 von Walther als dem "Konkurrenten und Gegner" Reinmars gesprochen. Ob er nicht vielmehr dessen Freund gewesen, ist noch eine offene Frage. Ebensowenig kann man behaupten: "Walthers melancholisches Ende war symptomatisch für den Kraftverlust des ritterlichen Ideals." Die von

Walther verfassten Gedichte, worin er über den Verfall des Rittertums klagt, sind wahrscheinlich nur "topos," wie Curtius uns gelehrt hat, und sie haben als solche keine weitere Bedeutung. Schon bei Veldeke finden wir eine solche Klage. Eine fehlerhafte Behauptung scheint es mir, wenn S. 12 vom Heliand gesagt wird, das Gedicht sei unter *englischem* Einfluss geschrieben worden. Der jetzt allgemein geltenden Ansicht, dass die Einheit der deutschen Schriftsprache *nicht* allein Luthers Bibelübersetzung zu verdanken ist, wird S. 86 widersprochen, indem Luthers Alleinverdienst als feststehend hingestellt wird. Trotz dieser Vorbehalte aber ist das Erscheinen eines solchen Büchleins, das die Reichtümer der älteren deutschen Literatur dem breiten Publikum eines nicht deutschsprachigen Landes näher bringen will, zuletzt auch wegen der ausgezeichneten Illustrationen, erfreuend. Es sollte aber mit grösserer Vorsicht geschrieben sein.

Cedar Crest College

JUDY MENDELS

Ernst Zellmer, *Altfranzösisch "ço"—Neufranzösisch "ça": Eine Syntaktische Betrachtung* (Frankfurt a. M.: [offset], 1954. 23 pp.).

IT is not easy to get a clear idea of what the author wants to prove or to convey in his paper. He seems to object against the traditional derivation of *ça* from *cela* and *çà* (misspelled as *ça*), but does not state his reasons. He goes on to speak of a "relationship of *ça*" and one guesses that he means "relationship with OF *ço*," but he does not say so. The operative sentence is the following: "The survival of OF *ço* in the modern dialects will furnish the background against which has to be seen the creation, expansion and usages of *ça* in the speech of Central France."

This statement is followed by an obviously very conscientiously composed classification of words denoting the idea of a neuter demonstrative, and their rhythmical and syntactic properties throughout Old French and the modern dialects. This is apparently designed to provide the background against which *ça* has to be seen. *Ça* is dealt with, however, only in one short paragraph on the last page. The author mentions the possibility that dialect speakers assimilated old inherited *ço* to Parisian *ça*, and one wonders whether this represents his thesis. He displays considerable learning and a critical love for detail: this is certainly praiseworthy, but is it enough?

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